University of Alberta

Embodying the Space Between:

Unmapping writing about violence and women of colour in Canada.

by

Sheela Subramanian

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Dr. Yasmeen Abu-Laban

Dr. Catherine Kellogg

Dr. Sara Dorow

Date thesis is approved by committee

This thesis is dedicated to my dear *paati*, P. K. Ponnammal,
and to the loving memory of my uncle, Parameswara Viswanathan,
with those four special ingredients.

Abstract

This thesis examines and challenges how 'race' is grounded in Canadian anti-racist feminist texts on material and discursive violence against women of colour in Canada. A theoretical framework is developed by drawing on the work of Sherene Razack as well as Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon. Three arguments are advanced: that the body's materialization through 'race' and gender happens in space; that this process produces space; and that racialized and gendered bodies are marked by a reduced ability to move through space. These arguments are used to critique Himani Bannerji's discussion of 'South Asian' women in an essay about their experiences of domestic violence in Canada. Through an analysis of photographic work by Jin-me Yoon, it is suggested that the 'South Asian' woman's immobility reproduced in Bannerji's essay might be destabilized by revealing the racialized and gendered exclusions in Canadian national discourse that materialize body and space.

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Introduction

In July 2005, a woman's body was found in the northern edges of the City of Edmonton during a search for missing Liana White. The announcement of this discovery enacted an interesting politics of 'race', bodies and space, as it came during a period of months and years during which bodies of Edmonton sex trade workers, many of whom were Aboriginal, were found in rural areas just outside the city. Following the announcement, there was much media speculation on whether this body was indeed White's, that of a prostitute, or whether White had, perhaps, fallen victim to the sex trade serial killer (Harding, 2005; Simons, 2005). After White's husband was charged with the murder, Paula Simons of the Edmonton Journal pointed to what she saw as the absurdity of this last suggestion. She wrote: "Liana White was a pregnant suburban mom, a medical clerk at the Royal Alexandra Hospital neo-natal unit, a most improbable victim for a serial killer of prostitutes" (Simons, 2005).

These words suggest that there exists a sort of natural belonging between certain spaces and bodies that is clearly shaped by gender and class, and less obviously shaped by 'race'. Throughout the coverage of the Edmonton sex trade murders, particular areas of inner city space were identified as the zones from where women worked and disappeared. In Simons' words, White's properly vulnerable femininity and respectability due to pregnancy, motherhood, and neo-natal work is closely tied to her belonging to the suburbs. In an analysis of the spatial and racial implications of the trial following the murder of Pamela George,

an Aboriginal woman from Regina, Sherene Razack (2002b) clearly shows how the suburbs are not only spaces of respectably gendered and classed bodies, but also of whiteness. This suggests that White's belonging to suburbia was also her belonging to a space of whiteness, further removing her from the racialized, especially Aboriginal, space of the Edmonton inner-city. In linking these ideas, Simons' words mark the separation of White's body from those of inner-city prostitutes who clearly cannot belong to the same living and working spaces.

The quote used above both points to and reproduces a violence of 'race' and gender that is overshadowed by the violence experienced on the physical body. Both Simons' quote and my initial analysis of it prompt a number of important questions about the ways that meanings and materialities of bodies, spaces, 'race' and gender work through one another: How is it that some bodies seem to belong to certain spaces, not others? How does this belonging relate to the ways that 'race' and gender operate? How might this belonging be challenged? What is the role of Simons' writing in this relationship? Does she merely note a pre-existing relationship, or does her writing further produce this relationship?

This thesis makes the general argument that 'race' is grounded in writing through relationships of space. There is a way that, for example, Simons' words can be understood as not just referring to the way that bodies naturally fit into certain spaces, but also as reproducing the naturalness of this relationship through meanings of 'race'. This grounding of 'race' happens through the promotion of a series of exclusions that entrench racialized meanings. These exclusions might

operate in a number of ways. The understanding that motivates this writing is that bodies, spaces, 'race', and gender all come into being through one another in complicated and continual processes that require these exclusions. The main argument advanced in this thesis is that there are three especially insidious ways that this happens. Guided by work of Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon, I show that first, the body takes on a material being discursively in relation to space; that this embodiment simultaneously produces social space, also racialized and gendered; and finally, that the racialized and gendered body is marked by a lessened ability to move through social space. The potential for resisting these relationships relies on an understanding of bodies and space as produced through a continual and incomplete process of signification.

Without carefully theorizing the body, space, and subjectivity, these relationships might be reproduced in any kind of writing, including those that are written from feminist and anti-racist positions. In exploring how these dynamics unfold in writing, I explore works that can be understood as coming from a literature of Canadian anti-racist feminism. The importance of studying that work is highlighted in the above use of Razack's work to make more clear the hidden role of 'race' in Simons' writing. Because this writing is of critical importance in making this hidden violence visible, it is imperative to examine how these works indirectly reproduce meanings and materialities of 'race' and gender. It is in the interest of strengthening this writing that the focus of this thesis is placed on how 'race', space and the body are understood in that literature.

In order to examine these subtle relationships, work by Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon is used to engage in a critique of three different Canadian anti-racist feminist texts by Sherene Razack, Himani Bannerji, and artist Jin-me Yoon. Each text can be understood as speaking about a kind of discursive violence that takes place against and as women of colour in Canada, often making links between this violence and that which is understood as physical or material. Each text notes the importance of national discourse in enabling this violence, and each negotiates the politics of spaces and bodies differently. In engaging with each work, I build a better understanding of how the complicated relationships allowing some bodies to belong to certain spaces and not others are negotiated and challenged.

Contribution to the Discipline

This sort of inquiry has not traditionally been included within the discipline of Political Science. In the article "Political Science Encounters 'Race' and 'Ethnicity'", Rupert Taylor argues that a preference for 'objective' or more scientific research methods has meant that 'race' and 'ethnicity' have often been critically studied within the discipline (1999: 122). He argues that when 'race' has been included in Political Science research, it is generally reified as an object of study or variable, a "thing-in-the-world which could be picked up", leaving it inadequately problematized in and of itself (Taylor, 1999: 117). As variables or objects, especially within positivist research, 'race' and 'ethnicity' are generally considered for their impact on formal politics; they are understood as factors

affecting voting patterns, political behaviour and socio-economic status (Taylor, 1999: 117). Ideas of 'ethnicity' are used to explain conflict and nationalism (1999: 121).

Although Taylor's work focuses in greater detail on the American context, a cursory look at some introductory Canadian politics textbooks offers a glance into the ways that 'race' has intervened into the discipline. Such a glance suggests that there exists a fairly similar situation in Canadian political science. As Malinda Smith notes in a rare textbook chapter devoted to Canada's racial history, "most of the cutting-edge work on 'race' in Canada has been in the areas of sociology, critical legal studies, and cultural studies. Theoretical and empirical works in politics have focused primarily on multiculturalism and immigration policies, and not on race politics and policies, per se" (2003: 110). Both Smith and Taylor point to the importance of critically examining the meanings of 'race', which, they suggest, is not an object, but is the result of a political process of racialization.

This process of making racial meaning happens, in part, through the ways that the discipline considers 'race' an object. This is made evident by the discussion included in the three other current textbooks considered here. In these works, 'race' is generally understood as a sort of causal force or thing, reified through discussions of 'cultural groups' or 'visible minorities'. The fixing of this idea of 'race' happens, as Smith suggests, in the ways that it is discussed only largely in relation to issues of multiculturalism and immigration. The one

deviance from these topics came in Rand Dyck's (2002) textbook on Canadian politics, where Aboriginal policy is understood as a kind of group discrimination and example of racial tension (Dyck, 2002: 74). This discussion, however, is quickly followed by one about "Other Ethnic Groups and Multiculturalism" (Dyck, 2002: 74). A similar consideration of 'race' in relation to multiculturalism and reified cultural groups is presented in James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon's (2004) edited collection.

These textbooks also offer an interesting treatment of contemporary racism. For example, Dyck suggests that "discrimination" against "visible minorities" consists of the argument that the "anti-multiculturalism" and anti-immigration sentiment of the 1990s was a result of economic tensions (Dyck, 2002: 79). Overlooking work by authors like Himani Bannerji, who suggest that multiculturalism itself promotes racialized meanings hidden by the language of 'culture', Dyck considers the critics of multiculturalism policy, especially Neil Bissoondath, who argue that such a policy promotes the ghettoization of people of colour (Dyck, 2002). There is one critical mention of racism in Bickerton and Gagnon's text in a one-paragraph discussion of racial profiling and the case of Maher Arar (2004: 234). Stephen Brooks' (2000) textbook, despite presenting the largest discussion of 'race' aside from Smith's chapter, also glosses over the existence of racism in contemporary Canada. His analysis focuses on a comparison of understandings of equality in American and Canadian political culture and policy. In briefly noting the Japanese internment, Brooks argues that:

"Despite evidence that in Canada, too, tolerance of cultural diversity has known limits, these limits have been less restrictive than in the United States" (Brooks, 2000: 51). He continues by adding, "racist sentiments are more pervasive in the United States than in Canada" (Brooks, 2000: 52).

Despite these problematic presentations, there is a growing interest in the politics of 'race' and racialization within the discipline. This is most clearly evident through Smith's chapter in the text *Reinventing Canada: Politics of the 21st Century*. This chapter presents a critical discussion of the meaning of 'race', pointing to the importance of unfixing its meanings and showing it to be falsely grounded in biology and geography, and then develops the argument that Canada has a history of racialized oppression that must be made visible (Smith, 2003). Additionally, other recent work has called for the de-essentialization of 'race' and 'culture' within the discipline and within academic writing in general (Smith, 2003; Abu-Laban, 2002; Jhappan, 1996). Despite these interventions, there remains very little Canadian political science literature that suggests how we might critically theorize racialization itself or how the discipline itself reproduces 'race'.

The need to more critically examine 'race' within political science is not only highlighted by its absence as a disciplinary topic, but also by its often hidden presence. As Taylor notes, it is not just a lack of critical theorizing about 'race' that poses a problem, but also the problematic use of racialized ideas, as illustrated by the textbooks, that points to the discipline's own implication in the

production of racialized meanings and materializations. This potential is made particularly visible in the area of liberal political philosophy and the debates of multiculturalism vs. feminism. Even in the work of more 'progressive' liberal thinkers, such as Canadian scholar Joseph Carens, the language of 'race' is never used, but is replaced through ideas of 'culture' (Carens, 2000). Here, domestic violence is understood as something that is either typical of particular 'cultures' (for example, Moller Okin, 1998; Beckett and Macey, 2001), or is something that is understood as part of all 'cultures' (Carens, 2000). In the latter case, it is argued that this violence might be addressed through the promotion of Western liberal values of equal rights and gender equality (Carens, 2000). Through such discussion, the bodies of women of colour are further racialized and gendered in order to promote and defend liberal theory. This exclusion and strategic use of domestic violence, particularly the violence experienced by women of colour, also points to the continuing depoliticization of the 'personal' that happens in the discipline.

This absence of critical considerations of 'race' and 'ethnicity' suggest the importance of looking to other disciplines and authors. The works of Sherene Razack, Himani Bannerji and Jin-me Yoon that play a central focus in this thesis stem from different disciplines, including law, sociology, and fine arts. The importance of their work on this thinking suggests the need to undertake interdisciplinary or cross-disciplinary research to encounter new approaches, new theorizing, and even new research materials. In order to take up questions of anti-

racism, and especially of anti-racist feminism, it is important to go beyond Political Science in order to bring new ideas back into the discipline.

Approach and Methodology

As the focus of this project has changed, so have the approaches and methodologies considered. In initial planning, when interested in questions of racialized and gendered mobility around questions of domestic violence, I considered conducting slightly more empirical research to examine, for example, the use of shelters in enabling women's mobility. In reading further, however, it became clear that such an approach was not compatible with my guiding theoretical ideas. If it is understood through Butler (1993a), that the body is continually produced and reproduced discursively through its 'race' and gender, and if this constitution of the body is the effect of an incomplete and continual process of reformulation and contestation, then it is possible to open up new ways to think about the violence of the body's materialization. If this understanding is broadened to consider how the constitution of the body happens in and through the production of social space, also discursively, then additional possibilities arise. These possibilities, however, must be considered within a particular textual context.

Based on this understanding, the methodology used in this work is a form of critique that examines whether the texts studied meet the terms of their own claims. What this means, in the context of the anti-racist feminist work discussed,

is that I explore how this writing might actually reproduce racialized or gendered exclusions in the interest of challenging them. The purpose of such a critique is to both build on the work of these authors and to strengthen their arguments by pointing to some possible gaps in argumentation.

The approach taken here is influenced by Razack's understanding of 'unmapping.' Drawing on the work of Richard Phillips, Razack argues that unmapping is a denaturalization of geography through a reconsideration of how "spaces come to be" (2002b: 5). It is through this process, Razack argues, that "world views" grounded in these relationships are subverted (2002b: 5). While it is beyond the scope of this project to actually subvert any world views, my aim is to denaturalize the racialized and gendered constitution of bodies and spaces of some anti-racist feminist writing by asking how they come into being. The views that are critiqued are the understandings and focus placed on subjectivity and agency by Razack and Bannerji in the interest of strengthening other aspects of their arguments. The choice to focus on a study of texts was clearly guided by the above understanding of Butler's work. I selected recent work by respected Canadian anti-racist feminist scholars Sherene Razack and Himani Bannerji, and well known Canadian artist, Jin-me Yoon. Each of these works was chosen because of its commitment to exploring the intersection of questions of 'race', gender and also nationalism in the Canadian context.

Organization of the Work

The approach taken shapes the organization of this thesis. In Chapter One, I enter into dialogue with Razack's work (2002) in *Race, Space and the Law,* through a critique of the theoretical framework she develops for exploring racialized and gendered mobility in the Canadian national context. Although Razack's work is deeply intriguing and useful for this research project, there are problems with the way that she writes about the materialization of the body and of space. It is argued in this chapter that Razack is not fully able to address the problems that she identifies because of her understanding of body and space. I turn to the work of Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon to suggest how we might reconsider Razack's naturalized understanding of the body and of space. In doing so, focus is placed on the role played by 'materiality' in her analysis, showing how the matter of body and space come into being through racializing and gendering processes, and how this results in the production of the subject and his or her agency as an effect. In this way, an understanding is developed of how body and social space materialize simultaneously and through one another.

As noted earlier in this introduction, there are critical ways that space grounds racialization: in the ways in which bodies materialize spatially; through the production of social space as an effect of the materialization of bodies; and as the racialized and gendered body is marked by an immobility or a lessened ability to move through space. I reconceptualize Razack's understanding of racialized mobility through the work of Frantz Fanon, suggesting that the racialized body is

constituted through its immobility in space, a result of its position of exclusion and inclusion to subjectivity. Towards the end of this chapter, I point to the ways in which mobility and social space can be understood through mapping and contact zones, or spaces where difference is encountered.

These ideas are further developed and illustrated through Chapter Two in relation to Himani Bannerji's (2000) essay, "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour." This essay highlights the importance of considering these questions of racialized and gendered mobility through a focus on writing about domestic violence, where resistance is often understood through ideas about women's ability to leave the space of home. In this chapter, it is argued that although Bannerji begins to show how this domestic violence should be considered in relation to the ways that bodies take on meaning through 'race' and gender in national discourse, her understanding of the relationship between body, space and subjectivity actually reproduces the racial and gendered meanings that she wishes to upset.

In using work by Erin Manning (2003) to help with the unmapping of this essay, I suggest that although Bannerji points to the ways that South Asian women are enclosed within a space of home, her analysis does not suggest how to enable their movement out of this space, and, even, further binds them to this space. This binding is understood as a result of tensions between Bannerji's critique of subjectivity, carried out through noting the Othering of women of colour in Canadian national discourse, and her arguments that resistance happens

through the development of women's agency. As developed in Chapter One, such an argument only further promotes the exclusions required to develop subjectivity and agency. I suggest that through a consideration of the spatial element of these relationships, it becomes possible to destabilize meanings of 'race.'

In Chapter Three, a discussion of resistance is presented with a focus on how to challenge the immobility of Bannerji's South Asian woman. In order to develop a better understanding of resistance in this context, I turn to the work of artist Jin-me Yoon and the photographic work *Souvenirs of the Self* (2001). This image, it is argued, destabilizes naturalized relationships between bodies and spaces by exposing the internally ruptured logic of Canadian nationalism. To do so, Yoon uses a figure, her own body, caught between exclusion and inclusion in national discourse to show how bodies, spaces, and nation materialize through racialized and gendered exclusions.

In relating this discussion to Bannerji's essay, it is suggested that the immobility of the South Asian woman might be similarly challenged. In light of this, I consider how the immobility of this figure is falsely secured. This consideration points to the ways that this body comes into being as immobile in relation to two binary relationships: her position between home and homelessness within the nation, and also her spatial location between material home and homelessness. Through a critical examination of how these two binaries are secured, and in this securing produce this body, their necessarily covered-over racialized and gendered exclusions are revealed, and new materializations are

enabled.

In engaging with these works, it is important to clarify that I am not studying the constitution of women of colour or of South Asian women in the Canadian context in general, but rather their constitution in and through the specific texts of anti-racist feminists. Again, to return again to my brief discussion of Butler above, the figure or body constituted within a particular text is not constituted once, nor is it totally separate from its constitution in other contexts. Instead, as Butler argues (1993), the materiality of any body is constituted continually through its every reference. It is in light of this that any reference here to a category of "women of colour" or "South Asian" women in Canada is done through the understanding that such a reference further constitutes these bodies. As discussed at length in the first chapter, I understand bodies as coming into being through their racialized and gendered 'identities', a result of meanings produced both through racism and anti-racism, as is done here. This thesis is written out of the awareness that it is by referring to racialized meanings that they are both reproduced and contested.

Despite this, I have some discomfort in using, for example, the term "South Asian." I understand this category as a spatial grounding of 'race' through naturalized geopolitics, and so have a greater comfort with a term like "brown", which upsets this spatial grounding of 'race' and speaks to its homogenizing tendencies. Because of these tendencies, much of what is said about "Sri Lankan" or "Indian" bodies is equally important for the materialization of, say, "Indo-

Caribbean", "Indo-African" or other brown bodies[1]. Nonetheless, I continue to use this term 'South Asian' and other similar terms here, because the authors in question refer to the geopolitical forces, such as immigration and colonization, that shape these bodies, and because my analysis is focused on the bodies constituted within each text.

Additionally, this study is approached out of the interest of writing in a resistant manner, as do Razack, Bannerji and Yoon. Because this writing is also a further reference to the bodies of "South Asian" women or "women of colour", it is undertaken in an attempt to continue the resignification opened up by the works critiqued. Again, such an engagement with these works is not done in the interest of rejecting them, but in order to enter into dialogue precisely because there is much importance in their analysis.

Conclusion

In order to avoid bringing in too many ideas to this thesis, I have tried to focus in on the links that are especially important to my arguments. Thus, there are some areas of discussion that could not be developed in depth and are, as a result, not reflective of the larger writing on those topics. This is made clear in the section in Chapter Three on home/homelessness binaries, as well as in Chapter Two in the brief overview of writing on violence against South Asian

[1] This homogenizing character of racialization is explained further in relation to Frantz Fanon in Chapter One.

women in Canada. In relation to both of these subjects, much of the empirical writing, which is the bulk of the literature on homelessness especially, was excluded.

Because of the approach taken, it is possible that this thesis might be critiqued as being far removed from 'reality', or as irrelevant to 'real' political organizing. In response to this potential critique, I return again to Butler to suggest that the 'reality' of material existence is never separate from, but is constituted through discourse. The focus of this project calls for an engagement with academic texts, including the work of Jin-me Yoon which develops similar ideas. This engagement is suitable in the interest of furthering the dialogue that happens in this context and because resistance is understood as happening everywhere. Again, a guiding understanding of this thesis is that, counter to what is suggested by Razack and Bannerji's works, there is no separation between materiality and discourse. Instead, as is made evident through Yoon's work, everything, including writing and speech, is continually engaged in a process of meaning making.

Finally, in order to submit this thesis, I have to understand it as a work-in-progress, something to continue thinking about and living beyond this writing. The completion of this project was difficult because many of the ideas and approaches explored were new and I want to be careful in their use. Although this project is submitted as complete for now, it is done with an awareness that there are likely gaps and ambiguities remaining. Rather than focus on these potential

inadequacies, I understand them as reminders that there is always more to learn.

Chapter One

In the introduction to the edited volume *Race, Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, Sherene Razack argues that the law is used to protect the interests of white people by creating a sort of amnesia surrounding the history and contemporary presence of racial exclusions (2002a: 19). She argues that this erasure allows "white subjects to be produced as innocent, entitled, rational and legitimate", and is hidden by the supposed "racelessness" of the law (2002a: 19). In setting up her critique of the law, Razack argues that in order to make visible both this 'race' amnesia and the way that it is protected by the law, it becomes necessary to consider the production of social space.

Increasing attention is being paid to ways in which racialization happens through space and place. In this recent work, Sherene Razack argues importantly that, in the Canadian context, the destabilization of meanings of 'race' must happen through an examination of how racial meanings are spatially constituted. The contributors to the edited volume argue that not only are bodies racialized, but that spaces also hold racial meaning and affect how citizens might move through them. Razack's introduction to the work, in which she lays out the theoretical framework that guides the other chapters in the book, is intriguing. She suggests that this framework and the following essays offer some "initial methodologies" to be used towards the denaturalization of 'race' and space.

This chapter is written out of both an enthusiasm for Razack's work and concern about how her arguments are made. The main argument that guides this

chapter is that without carefully considering how both spaces and bodies are themselves constituted through 'race' and gender, we risk reproducing the very oppression that we attempt to destabilize when we write about them. It is argued that because Razack allows a sort of ontological existence to both bodies and space, that is, she suggests that they have a pre-existing and separate being that she understands as material and not symbolic, her analysis is unable to examine, and even further reproduces, the very sexed and racialized constitutions of both spaces and bodies. Finally, through this discussion it is shown that, through a focus on the constitution of the materiality of both bodies and space, we can differently develop Razack's argument that the racialized and gendered body is less mobile and is constituted within particular space.

The purpose of this critique is to build on Razack's initial methodologies for theorizing and destabilizing relationships of space, embodiment and mobility. Her work is used as an entry point in to these relationships because there is much that is useful and important there. The potential of Razack's work includes the argument that racialized and gendered meanings are often articulated through the national, that studies of space and 'race' must be undertaken in context, and that there is a deep link between 'race,' gender and movement in space. In this chapter, her work is used to focus and reshape the links between embodiment and space, and how we might begin to understand racialized mobility.

In order to suggest how these relationships of space and body might be differently explored, I turn to the work of Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon, as well

as some of the mobility theorists that Razack herself uses. In particular, it is argued that if the body is understood as coming into being through racialization and gendering processes, producing the appearance of a subject who can 'know' and 'act', then it cannot be separately imagined from these 'identities', nor can we inquire after the subject's self-awareness without further producing the illusion of a subject who acts. Additionally, if we turn to Fanon, we see that it is the oppressive and illusory nature of subjectivity itself that requires a racialized embodiment that constitutes the racialized body through immobility. It is important to remember here that although Butler (1993a) understands subjects to be produced as merely an effect of the materialization of the body, she still understands them to be produced. Finally, if social space is understood as being produced as an effect of gendered and racialized embodiment, an effect that then further constitutes the bodies that produce it in a circular relationship, then we might see that the possibilities for resistance lie in the way in which space, as an effect of spatialization, is also always open to resignification.

Problematizing Razack's Analysis

In *Race, Space and the Law*, Sherene Razack (2002a: 5) and other contributors attempt to "unmap" some of the ways in which 'race' and space work together in the English-Canadian national context. This unmapping is done in the interest of destabilizing ideas of the innocence of white European settlers, and of examining continuing ideologies and practices of domination that structure the

state (Razack, 2002a: 5). The double purpose of the book is first, to denaturalize seemingly innocuous geographies by exploring how they are implicated in the production of space, and secondly, to destabilize the role of white Canadians in this process (Razack, 2002a: 5). Towards these purposes, Razack develops a theoretical framework that guides the work of the following chapters. The questions that guide this analysis are complicated and important. She asks: "What is being imagined or projected on to specific spaces and bodies, and what is being enacted there? Who do white citizens know themselves to be and how much does an identity of dominance rely upon keeping racial Others firmly *in place*? How are people kept in their place? And, finally, how does place become race" (Razack, 2002a: 5, original emphasis)?

These questions point to both the potential and the problematic of Razack's analysis. The relationships between space and body, and between 'race' and place, that form the basis for Razack's analysis, are deeply complicated and important, and the authors makes the intriguing suggestion that there exists a relationship between the 'keeping in place' of some and the 'identity' or domination of others. Despite the importance of these ideas, they also point to some problematic positions: first, is it accurate to suggest that something is imagined or projected onto pre-existing material space or body, suggesting that these spaces and bodies can be considered apart from these layered meanings? Is it appropriate to speak of the processes by which white (and non-white) citizens come to 'know themselves'? And, although there is importance in Razack's

argument that the racialized body is represented as belonging to particular kinds of space, and additionally, that its mobility is inhibited, it is possible that in framing the problem in this way, Razack reproduces what she attempts to subvert.

Razack's discussion of the body focuses on her argument, following Foucault, that the liberal state is characterized by the separation of the body that is marked as bourgeois from that body which is marked as degenerate (2002a: 10, 11). This spatial separation, she writes, is secured in the interest of the moral regulation of the body and the state (Razack, 2002a: 11). Razack uses Foucault to argue that throughout the 18th century, the body increasingly became an object and a target of power, and that individuals were 'made' through the micro-processes of discipline (2002a: 11). It is through these processes and technologies of surveillance that the normal social body and the abnormal, spatially segregated, body was produced (Razack, 2002a: 11).

Although the focus of the collection is on the relationship between racialized and gendered oppression, mobility and space, Razack does not clearly suggest that this embodiment was itself racialized or gendered. While her understanding of 'race' and gender is not made explicit, it is suggested that the racializing and gendering of the body happens through other "identity making" processes, particularly through the potential for the 'normal' body to move through space (2002a: 13). The bourgeois body of Foucault's analysis is likened to the Cartesian subject in the work of Kathleen Kirby through the idea that the Enlightenment subject developed in a parallel with the rise of cartographic

technology and exploration (Razack, 2002a: 12). This parallel suggests that the figure with the potential to map space is the one who controls it (Razack, 2002a: 11). Razack suggests that this mapping subject is also the figure of the imperial man who "achieves his sense of self through keeping at bay and in place any who would threaten his sense of mastery" (2002a: 12). It is also through this process of containing space, through mapping, that racialized space is constructed.

For Razack, mobility is a form of racialized and gendered identity making. Through the work of Radhika Mohanram and Richard Phillips, Razack argues that the movement from respectable to degenerate, primarily racialized space, is the process by which the bourgeois subject comes to know himself as such (2002a: 12). She uses the work of Mohanram, who explores representations of the black body in various Western texts on identity formation, to show that the black body is always marked and is immobilized through this marking, while in contrast, the white body is characterized by its ability to move freely (Razack, 2002a: 12).

To add gender to this analysis, Razack looks to Richard Phillips' analysis of novels for young boys' of 19th century adventure. She focuses on Phillips' argument that a process of subjectivity is enacted through the idea of movement into and back from liminal space, a movement that can only be undertaken by the bourgeois white man (Razack, 2002a: 13). She writes:

> Liminal space is the border between civilized and primitive space, the space inhabited by savages whom civilized men vanquish on every turn. The subject who comes to know himself through such journeys first imagines his own space as civilized, in contrast to the space of the racial Other; second, he engages in transgression, which is a movement from respectable to degenerate space, a risky

> venture from which he returns unscathed; and third, he learns that he is in control of the journey through individual practices of domination…[By reading the novels examined,] the young white boy comes to know himself as white and in control, and as possessing superior values, a knowledge gained through the bodies and space of the racial Other. He also learns his place through white girls and women who stand as the marker of home and civility (Razack, 2002a: 13-14).

This idea is then extended to the movements of middle class, white men in the Canadian context, where identity is made through various movements, including into the space of the inner city where working-class, racialized and Aboriginal bodies are expected to belong (Razack, 2002b).

What remains unclear from Razack's discussion is her understanding of the constitution of the subject and of the materiality of the body. Although at times Razack refers to the body as produced, at other times it is suggested that a material body exists apart from these "identity making" processes. Confusion also arises from Razack's discussion of what, at times, seems to be representations of the body, and at other times, seems to be a body that exists outside representation. Additionally, throughout the introduction, the relationship between racialization, gendering processes, embodiment and the subject of which Razack speaks, is left somewhat fuzzy through the idea of a subject who knows himself through "identity making" processes that are racialized and gendered.

Despite this, Razack's insights on mobility are extremely important. Is there a way that we might resolve some of these tensions and then see if there is indeed a connection between racialization, embodiment, space and mobility? Although the discussion of the respectable or bourgeois subject is useful, I am

unconvinced that it adequately theorizes the role of 'race' and gender in the constitution of the subject and body themselves. And if there is a more integrated way that we might theorize about the constitution of the subject and the body through 'race' and gender, then we might be able to better understand if and why the racialized body is less mobile and is produced as belonging to degenerate spaces. It is for this reason that I turn to the work of Judith Butler, particularly her arguments about the materiality of the body.

Butler's *Bodies That Matter*

Judith Butler argues that the materialization of the body happens through the materialization of the body's sex (1993a: 2). This materiality of sex is compelled through the regulatory norms of compulsory heterosexuality in a performative fashion, that is, by producing that which is being named (1993a: 2; 1993a: 13). Although the body is posited as existing before language, "this signifying act delimits and contours the body that it then claims to find prior to any and all signification" (1993b: 30). In other words, the body's materiality is woven into signification and so does not happen outside language (1993b: 31). For Butler, materialization is never complete, but over time is stabilized in and through the appearance of what we understand to be matter -- "the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface" (1993a: 9).

The idea of performativity, taken from speech act theory, depends on a notion of power that is not the act of an originating will (Butler, 1993a: 13).

Through a revision of the grammar of action, power is understood as that which is produced in and through its effects, which are, themselves, power (Butler, 1993b: 35). Thus, we are not dealing with a subject who acts or power that acts on a subject. Butler writes: " 'Materiality' designates a certain effect of power, or rather, *is*, power in its formative or constituting effects. Insofar as power operates successfully by constituting an object domain, a field of intelligibility, as a taken-for-granted ontology, its material effects are taken as material data or primary givens" (Butler, 1993b: 34-35). The moment in which matter appears as existing outside the workings of power or discourse, as an irreducible ground of meaning, is the moment when this discourse is most effective (Butler, 1993b: 35).

These ideas are useful towards a rebuilding of Razack's hypothesis that the body that is racialized and gendered is less mobile and is confined to particular spaces. First, Butler's understanding suggests that by considering processes that make 'identities' of 'race' and gender on the body, we further reproduce the gendered and racialized constitution of the body's materiality. Rather than understanding how gendered and racialized identities are made separately from the body, Butler suggests that the making of these 'identities' is the very making of the body itself. Further, her work suggests that there is no outside to discourse, and that when we speak of the body we are always speaking about something produced in its representation. Butler complicates the relationship of separation that seems to be suggested in Razack's discussion of matter and its representation.

But what does this complication mean for the idea of the 'subject'? Butler

argues that subjects of action come to appear as an effect of this materialization through sex (Butler, 1992: 9). Butler again takes from Foucault, arguing that the subject is the effect of a chain of actions, a genealogy that is erased when the subject is understood as the foundation of action (Butler, 1992: 12). The subject is not the point of origin of action, but is itself the effect of various acts, which are unpredictable and indirect (Butler, 1992: 12). This constitution of the subject through the materialization of sex is then covered over through the supposed autonomy associated with the subject (1992: 12). Although the subject is posited as an actor within an external sphere of social relations, these relations are the very process, then concealed, of the subject's constitution (Butler, 1992: 12). Butler writes; "In this sense, then, the subject is constituted through the force of exclusion and abjection, one which produces a constitutive outside to the subject, an abjected outside, which is, after all, 'inside' the subject as its own founding repudiation" (1993: 3). This constitution of the subject requires, for Butler, an identification with norms of sex through a repudiation, forming an abjected outside which must then be covered over and disavowed (Butler, 1993a: 3). If not, this would threaten to reveal the 'self-grounding presumptions' that are at the basis of the sexed subject (Butler, 1993a: 3).

Although it is not widely noted, one of Butler's critical revisions in *Bodies that Matter* (1993) is the role played by racialization in the regulation of sex and gender. In this work Butler revisits her earlier discussions of performativity and the construction of sex and gender to suggest that it is not only the regulatory

power of compulsory heterosexuality, but also taboos against miscegenation that structure the ways in which bodies come to materialize[2]. Although Butler brings attention to this oversight, something that is often overlooked in the reception of her work, and argues that the heterosexual matrix that compels the materialization of sex is always racialized, she does not adequately theorize racialization in her work. However, she leaves room for such an analysis and suggests how a truly intersectional analysis might be done.

Butler's work certainly poses some questions at Razack's focus on the subject's self-awareness. If the subject is produced as an effect of the materialization of the body, and if the actions of the subject cover over its constitution, then by focusing on the process by which this subject 'knows himself' we do not get at the heart of oppressive 'identity'. Instead, if we give to the subject a sort of agency that then covers over the constitution of that subject through sex (and 'race'), then those norms that compel such a constitution are further reproduced.

It is important to note that Butler repeatedly states that any deconstruction of the body, of matter, of sex, or of the subject, is not a rejection but is a critique of something useful. Although Butler problematizes what is meant by the 'subject' or the 'body', she does not suggest that they should not, then, be studied.

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[2] This is particularly noted in the beautiful essay "Passing Queering" in which Butler argues that the symbolic that governs the intelligibility of bodies is deeply racialized. She shows that although structures of 'race' and gender have separate histories and should not be conflated, they are often only articulated and made intelligible through one another (1993c).

Instead, her work suggests that it is important to examine how these ideas come to materialize, and particularly what is being grounded through such a materialization. In the case of Razack's questions about mobility, this would suggest that we focus on how racialized and gendered bodies are made intelligible, and in which ways their intelligibility is bound up with particular spaces. If the racialized body is indeed restricted in its movement, then by studying its constitution in space, we might see if and how this immobility happens.

It is important to note that Butler's understanding of the subject as constituted by its actions is not a suggestion that the subject is overdetermined. The possibilities for a sort of 'agency' or resistance are located within this process of constitution. This understanding of resistance requires that the subject and its agency are not considered external to the field of power, nor that the subject is the effect of one act of power (1992: 13). Rather, when the subject is understood as continually being subjected and constituted, when its materiality is understood as the effect of reiterations that congeal over time to produce an appearance of stability, the possibilities for resignification are left open (Butler, 1992: 13). Importantly, Butler argues that this materialization of the sexed body is the effect of a set of actions that are mobilized through, but not compliant with, the regulatory law; thus, the performative constitution of the body is always engaged in a reshaping of meaning (1993a: 12).

Butler's analysis not only suggests a revisioning of the understanding of

the body and of the subject, but also that we need consider the role of space in Razack's analysis. If Elizabeth Grosz (1995) is correct in arguing that bodies and spaces must be considered together, and that one cannot be examined without the other, then it is important to ensure that understandings of both are complimentary (Grosz: 1995). The questions put to Razack's understanding of the body and the subject, through Butler's work on the materiality of the body, equally pose questions for her understanding of space, which draws on the work of Henri Lefebvre (2001). In the next section, I introduce and critique Razack's understanding of space, leaving room to build a different understanding of space in relation to work by Butler and Fanon, discussed at the end of the chapter.

The Production of Space -- Razack/Lefebvre

> To interrogate bodies traveling in spaces is to engage in a complex historical mapping of spaces and bodies *in relation*, inevitably a tracking of multiple systems of domination and the ways in which they come into existence in and through each other (Razack, 2002a: 15).

There are a number of guiding insights that I want to draw on from Razack's analysis of space: first, that the ways in which 'race' and gender work spatially are often articulated through national discourse; that all spatial phenomena must be examined in a particular context; that there exists a complicated and circular relationship between social space and identity.

Despite these insights, Razack's understanding of the production of space is not compatible with Butler's work on embodiment. Razack's basic

understanding of spatialization comes from the work of Henri Lefebvre, an influential French spatial theorist (2002: 8). She argues, through Lefebvre, that both the material and the symbolic use of space must be considered in any analysis, and that these two elements come together to produce social space (2002a: 8-9). In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (2001) draws from Marx and Lacan, among others, to build a theory of social space. He argues that the production of space must be considered for each society in light of its mode of production, and proposes a conceptual triad of spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and representational spaces (lived space), through which such an analysis might be done (Lefebvre, 2001).

Razack frames her discussion of space through Lefebvre's argument that there exists a dialectical relationship between these three terms that can be understood as social spatialization (Lefebvre, 2001). Spatial practice is perceived space, that which allows for continuity through the production and reproduction of different social spaces (Lefebvre, 2001: 33). Spatial practice both presupposes and proposes social space and is closely tied to the mode of production (Lefebvre, 2001: 38). Representations of space, or conceived space, are discourses on space, which, Lefebvre argues, form the dominant form of space in any society and are also closely tied to relations of production and the hegemonic order (Lefebvre, 2001: 38). The third, final, term, representational space, is space that is directly and fully lived (Gregory, 1997: 174). Representational space is the embodiment of spatial practice and representations of space.

Although Lefebvre's work is incredibly important and influential, it should be noted that he was writing directly to critique theorists like Butler who challenge the idea that meaning is grounded directly on matter. Lefebvre is critical of those who suggested that space might be read as a text (Lefebvre, 2001: 17). In considering the relationship of language to meaning and materiality, Lefebvre asks, "Does language -- logically, epistemologically, or genetically speaking -- precede, accompany or follow social space? Is it a precondition of social space or merely a formulation of it" (2001: 16)? In response, he argues that the consideration of space as a text does not allow for an accurate consideration of its dynamic and dialectical nature, and that we must examine how a pre-existing space, absolute space, is then altered to produce social space.

The Materiality of Space

To challenge this understanding, I suggest that we examine how the production of space might be tied to Butler's understanding of materiality. Through this analysis, it becomes clear that spatialization is inextricably tied to the constitution of matter through the exclusion and degradation of not only the feminine, but also racialized difference. What this suggests is that in referring to a notion of 'real' space, just as referring to any notion of 'real' matter, as a sort of grounding for meaning, further enforces the violations that are at the heart of its constitution. Instead, body and space might be understood as coming into being through one another, opening up productive possibilities of resistance in the

process.

Gillian Rose argues that the very distinction between material and symbolic space is gendered and "produces instabilities which undermine the distinction itself" (Rose, 1996: 58). She argues that the very way in which we understand the materiality of space is thought through ideas of sexual difference. Butler's analysis of the gendered constitution of materiality offers some suggestions for how we might uncover these instabilities. To examine what is necessarily excluded in the production of matter, something that only comes into being through its differentiation from some sort of space, Butler turns to the work of Luce Irigaray.

Irigaray argues that the binary oppositions that ground the systematicity of philosophy, are produced through an exclusion of a field of disruptive possibilities which she names the feminine (Butler, 1993b: 35). This exclusion of the feminine takes place, she suggests, at the site, or space, where matter is produced. Butler uses the work of Irigaray to argue that materialization itself is grounded through notions of sexual difference, which it further reproduces. The positing of matter as outside or prior to language secures the boundaries and systematicity of philosophy.

According to Irigaray, when matter is described in philosophic texts, it becomes a substitution and displacement of the feminine (Butler, 1993b: 37). The feminine acts as an empty signifier and serves to reflect and make sense of the masculine (Butler, 1993b: 38). It is through this interaction that materialization is

able to occur; materialization is played out through and on an inscriptional site that cannot itself be conceptualized (Butler, 1993b: 39). It is this site, or space, that is of importance; this is the site, the *chora* in Plato's *Timaeus*, where matter is produced as that which takes on meaning, as that which exists prior to meaning (Butler, 1993b: 39). What is important is that the feminine, which cannot be named or represented and so is not the *chora* itself, but is often figured as such, does not contribute anything of itself to this reproduction aside from providing this space/site for the inscriptional process to occur (Butler, 1993b: 39). Elizabeth Grosz argues that the *chora* is merely space in which place itself is made possible: "the chasm for the passage of spaceless Form into a spatialized reality, a dimensionless tunnel opening itself to spatialization, obliterating itself to make other possible and actual" (Grosz in Gibson-Graham, 1997: 316).

This space is also a sort of materiality that exceeds or goes beyond the idea of 'matter', and serves as the site of the feminine in a phallogocentric economy (Butler, 1993b: 38). Butler explains that for Irigaray, matter is redoubled; matter is understood as one pole in a binary relationship, and is also understood as that which exceeds and grounds this relationship itself (1993b: 38-39). This excessive matter forms a constitutive outside through a set of exclusions that are internal to the system itself, but only as its 'nonthematizable necessity' (Butler, 1993b: 39). This outside emerges through the system as a sort of disruption; Irigaray understands this emergence of the feminine as through *catachresis*, or the improper functioning of signifiers (Butler, 1993b: 37).

Although the feminine is represented as and through matter, it is only falsely represented. This is the specular feminine, the false representation of the feminine, that covers over the concealment of the excessive feminine, that which cannot be represented (Butler, 1993b: 42). This specular representation of the feminine is the ground for the masculine signifying economy; this false representation ensures the self-sufficiency of the masculine economy, as it ensures a relationship by which the masculine is reflected onto itself (Butler, 1993b: 39). The form/matter binary is mobilized, for Irigaray, by this falsely oppositional relationship between masculine and feminine, where the masculine actually represents both terms. The excessive matter must be covered over for this discursive economy to preserve its systematicity, based on auto-genesis (Butler, 1993b: 47). For Irigaray and for Butler, this marks a way in which materialization happens at all through both an exclusion and a degradation of the feminine.

It is possible to examine the production of space through the work of Butler and Grosz. In this way, 'space' can be understood as coming into being both through materialization and for materialization to occur, as the very feminized (but not the feminine itself) site of materialization, but also as that which is produced alongside matter. Grosz understands *chora* as that which cannot be contained in the logic of a text but is necessary to its operations; a sort of space, but an unordered space that is "prior to the order and regulation such

notions of space imply" (Gibson-Graham, 1997: 315)[3]. It is this unordered space, the site of inscription or production, that allows for the production of matter and of ordered space, which happens simultaneously. Additionally, it is only through the feminization and degradation of space that matter and space come to be at all. Thus, the very production of both space and matter happens through an invocation of sexual difference, and, as Butler critiques Irigaray's sole focus on feminized exclusions, through racial difference as well (Butler, 1993b).

Many implications arise from this understanding of the production of space. First, it becomes clear that not only matter, but space as well, cannot be taken as a ground for meaning (or anything), but that we must inquire into the operations of their constitution. This means that, for example, there is no material grounding of social space but rather, that both the space and matter involved are constituted through a complicated process that necessarily involves the degradation of the feminine. If this is true, then it becomes clear that it is impossible to consider the production of social space as involving material ('real' or absolute) space as a sort of raw ingredient, or to separately study the material or 'real' and symbolic and the 'constructed' elements of space, as Razack and Lefebvre argue we should. Instead, space must be understood as the effect of a process of spatialization that happens with and through materialization, and that is

[3] What is also interesting is that while *chora* is understood by Butler, Irigaray, and Grosz as a place, an unordered inscriptional space, Butler and Irigaray argue that the feminine, which is not the *chora* but is falsely associated as such, is a sort of non-thematizable materiality. In a way, this marks the mixing up of both space and matter as it is mixed up, say, in the idea of place.

dependent on the exclusion and degradation of the feminine and of other forms of difference.

This understanding of space can then be applied to the earlier discussion of embodiment. If space and matter are produced in the same moment, by virtue of a similar process, then the performative materialization of the body can be understood as a process that produces social space as its necessary effect, supporting the idea that bodies are always produced in space. As both space and body are effects of continual processes, they are both sites for the resignification of meaning. The social space that is reproduced through embodiment then further reproduces bodies, in a circular and productive relationship. This productive relationship is at the centre of resistant possibility, and even by uncovering how body and space are constituted through one another in various contexts, its naturalized meanings are destabilized.

Although this accounts for the production of social space, it does not clearly show why the racialized body might be produced as belonging to particular space, or even with less mobility. This understanding does offer some clues, as Butler cautions that the subject of philosophy that is constituted through this materialization takes a particular form. She describes it as:

> ...a figure of disembodiment, but one which is nonetheless a figure of a body, a bodying forth of masculinized rationality, the figure of a male body which is not a body, a figure in crisis, a figure that enacts a crisis it cannot fully control. This figuration of masculine reason as disembodied body is one whose imaginary morphology is crafted through the exclusion of other possible bodies, for the feminine, strictly speaking, has no morphe, no morphology, no contour, for it is that which contributes to the contouring of things, but is itself undifferentiated, without boundary. The body that is reason dematerializes the bodies that may

> not properly stand for reason or its replicas, and yet this is a figure in crisis, for this body of reason is itself the phantasmatic dematerialization of masculinity, one which requires that women and slaves, children and animals be the body, perform the bodily functions, that it will not perform (Butler, 1993b: 49).

This understanding suggests why the racialized and gendered body remains embodied and why the subjectivity (even illusory) accorded to the masculinized white body requires a certain disembodiment. However, for a more thorough understanding of this process, I turn to the work of Frantz Fanon, and the suggestion that different kinds of embodiment translate into different relationships of body and space.

Fanon and Racialized Mobility

As in Razack's analysis, racialization for Fanon does not happen by virtue of having a black body, but happens through what Razack might call "identity-making processes". What is different in Fanon's analysis is that 'identity' is not merely assumed or played out on the surface of the body, but, as does sex in Butler's account, racialization itself constitutes the body. Through the often cited "Look, a Negro!" sequence, Fanon shows how the black body is brought into being. What is important for my analysis here is how Fanon understands this embodiment to be played out in terms of the subject, the body, 'race', and space. Social space enters into Fanon's analysis in interesting ways, first, as that which provides the context for embodiment, secondly, in the relationship of the racialized body to social space. I use Fanon here to open up questions about how

we might better understand how bodies and spaces produce one another, and how the racialized body is constituted through immobility.

In Chapter Five of *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon describes the movement of the pre-1940[4] Antillean[5] from Martinique to colonial France. The Antillean 'at home' is immersed in French discourse, including French school curriculum, French magazines and stories, and French history, and so comes to identify with whiteness as the norm (Fanon, 1967: 146). As whiteness is associated with purity and morality, and blackness is associated with immorality and sin, the Antillean, in order to see himself as moral, must maintain a psychical image of himself that is white (Fanon, 1967: 192). Fanon argues that, in this way, the collective unconscious of pre-1940 Antilles is white, and the black man is understood as the African, particularly the Senegalese (1967: 148). This understanding is troubled through maturity, and although the Antillean may identify himself as Negro, he still must maintain a moral identification with whiteness (Fanon, 1967: 192, 193).

Once he is in France, the Antillean is confronted with the gaze of the

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[4] In Chapter 6, Fanon argues that after 1940, with the dissemination of the work of Aimé Césaire, Antilleans began to think of themselves as Negroes (1967: 153).

[5] It is important to note the tension between, on the one hand, Fanon's cautions against generalizing his theory as that of 'black experience' and his theoretical discussion of the essential construction of blackness, and on the other hand, his construction of 'Antillean' experience. Ann Pellegrini points to the tensions in Fanon's anti-essentialist tendencies and his attempts to make parallels between various oppressed groups/people (Pellegrini, 1997: 93). In particular, Pellegrini points to the ways in which Fanon homogenizes black women (1997: 93). She asks whether this might be indicative of the "impasse of constructionism/essentialism, theory/politics", and suggests that this is, perhaps, a consequence of Fanon's "ambition and genius" (Pellegrini, 1997: 93).

white man ("Look, a Negro!"), and is confronted with his blackness (Fanon, 1967: 112). In becoming black, the Antillean realizes that he too, and not just the African, is represented by the "myth of blackness", constructed through white images and histories of the Negro (Fanon, 1967: 112, 150). This marks the zebra striping of the mind -- the white unconscious is too stable for an easy displacement and the Antillean is left fragmented and "forever in combat with his own image" (Fanon, 1967: 194). As Pellegrini suggests, this white gaze is most successful as it becomes internalized (Pellegrini, 1997: 92). This gaze also enacts a trauma on the bodily schema, or the "lived body by and through which one takes up the world" (Merleau-Ponty in Sullivan, 2004: 13)[6]. When the black Antillean is confronted with the white world, this bodily schema falls away to show below it the existence of what Fanon calls the historico-racial schema formed through representations of blackness in discourse (Fanon, 1967: 111).

Although blackness comes into being in relation to whiteness, the converse is not also true and any possibility of black subjectivity is precluded (Fuss, 1994: 22). As Diana Fuss suggests, within white colonial discourse, the Other, always blackness, is used to maintain colonial selfhood (Fuss, 1994: 22). Although whiteness may be 'the other' to blackness, it can never be the Other that is essential to subjectivity (Fuss, 1994: 22). Rather, blackness is produced as a

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6 Here Fanon looks to the phenomenological work of Merleau-Ponty where a distinction is made between the body through which the world is experienced and the body as it is reflected on as an object (Sullivan, 2004: 13). For both Merleau-Ponty and Fanon, although the movements of the body through space allow one to engage with the social world, this is done in an unthought way that does not render the body into an object (Sullivan, 2004: 13).

sort of illusory Other through a subject/other relationship that is actually an economy of the same, as illustrated by Fanon's discussion of the myth of blackness. The blackness that becomes the Antillean is made up of white myths: "I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships, and above all else, above all: 'Sho' good eatin'" (1967: 112). Further, Fanon's work performs a further deconstruction of colonial subjectivity by suggesting that if the Antillean forms the exteriority of the colonial interiority, then the very humanness of the colonizer, defined against the non-humanness of blackness (which is only produced falsely in relation to whiteness!) comes into question (Fuss, 1994: 23). Fuss describes this as the double command of the colonizer: "Be like me, don't be like me" (Fuss, 1994: 23).

Fanon's account of the preclusion of black subjectivity problematizes and supplements Razack's framework on a number of counts. First, this analysis suggests that there are a number of very important links between 'race', embodiment, subjectivity, and mobility. However, it also suggests that when Razack (2002: 5) asks, "Who do white citizens know themselves to be and how much does an identity of dominance rely upon keeping racial Others firmly *in place*?" she is posing a very complicated question, one that, as discussed above in relation to Butler, reproduces the illusory effect of a thinking and acting subject. Further, Fanon suggests that the racialized body becomes neither other nor subject, but simply an object. Whiteness, the "transcendental signifier", is not

understood as "not-black" but is self-reproducing and works as its own Other (Fuss, 1994: 144). This suggests the importance of moving away from questions of how the subject knows himself and asking instead how this subject comes to appear through the 'keeping in place' of racialized bodies, and how this keeping in place is achieved.

Racialization in Fanon's account is the embodiment of blackness, which is embodiment itself for the black man, unrecognizable without his blackness in the French context. This is, at the same time, the process by which the body comes into being and the process by which the black man's subjectivity is denied. The black man cannot attain a disembodied subjectivity but remains characterized, only a 'black man' and never a 'man', in a heightened state of embodiment. Referring back to this becoming of blackness, Ann Pellegrini writes: "This inscription surfaces on and as the racialized body; the oppressed loses all claim to individual 'being' and comes instead a representative type" (Pellegrini, 1997: 92).

Not only does embodiment happen in relation to social space, in this case, racialization happens in relation to bodies that produce the social space of colonial France, and is also the process by which the racialized body is marked as one that cannot move freely in space because of the trauma to its bodily-schema (Fanon, 1967: 112). As Fuss acknowledges:

> Space operates as one of the chief signifiers of racial difference here: under colonial rule, freedom of movement (psychical and social) becomes a white prerogative. Forced to occupy, in a white racial phantasm, the static ontological space of the timeless 'primitive', the black man is disenfranchised of his very subjectivity. Denied entry into the alterity that underwrites subjectivity, the

> black man, Fanon implies, is sealed instead into a 'crushing objecthood' (Fuss, 1994: 21).

This hyper-embodiment can also be understood as a sort of alienation of the black man from the black body (Dalal, 2002: 98). Fanon argues that the now racialized person is left in a state of seeking approval and definition from the white world, which cannot come from the non-existent Other (Sullivan, 2003; Fanon, 1967: 154). The black body only comes to take on meaning in a social space where the white body is presumed to be *the* body.

If Fanon's work is at all applicable to the contemporary white settler state context of Canada, which, through my discussion in Chapters Two and Three, I argue it is, then a number of things might be suggested. First, and in light of Butler's understanding of embodiment, an 'identity' of whiteness might itself never be fully achieved but might be better understood as needing continual reaffirmation through encounters with an Other produced in its own image, as is highlighted in Razack's thoughts on the movement of white, middle-class men's bodies into 'degenerate' or racialized space. Secondly, although Butler's arguments effectively show that subjects are merely an effect of materialization, dominant discourse continues to conceptualize bodies as belonging to acting subjects. Fanon's work, taken together with Razack's suggestion that people of colour and Aboriginal people in Canada continue to be excluded from subjectivity, suggests that those who are excluded are not merely an Other, but are, to some extent, hyper-embodied as a representative racialized type.

Racialized bodies become intelligible in part through a process that forms part of white subjectivity, itself an illusory process. It is for this reason that the body that is racialized falls into a sort of representative position that is the basis for its intelligibility.

Again, this argument is not without room for resistance. Fanon cautions that despite the representation of blackness in white discourse, something remains elusive about the black man, some mystery or secret that the black man holds from his white counterpart (1967: 128). Radhika Mohanram (1999) relates this mystery to the nature of racialized representations, particularly with respect to what Fanon understands as the necessity to deny the existence of "Negroes" in favour of representations of "the Negro" (Fanon, 1967: 127, for example). Mohanram writes, "the supplementary nature of Fanon's blackness must be excluded for the internal coherence of a system divided into blacks and whites to function, a system defined from the vantage point of whiteness" (1999: 27). This suggests that the racialized body is not without the possibilities for resistance.

Of course, it is important to consider to what extent Fanon's work might be generalized to other contexts. It is clear that Fanon's analysis speaks primarily about black men[7]. However, if we consider that Irigaray's analysis, which follows

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[7] Rey Chow (2002) suggests that Fanon's misogyny, particularly in Chapter 2 of *Black Skin, White Masks*, points to perhaps one of the most troubling "disorders" of the colonized subject, the condition of *ressentiment*, or a repeated negative response that must be repressed (2002: 185). In this case, members of one's own community become enemies posing a threat from the outside (Chow, 2002: 184). Chow suggests that "although it may appear that these women are being disparaged on account of their lasciviousness and greediness for power, in the end it is perhaps their proximity to, and hence rivalry with, the male critic's own theoretical vision...that

similar lines to suggest that women are also outside the process of subjectivity which she too shows to be constituted through Self-Self relations, then it is possible to argue that Fanon's work holds relevance for those 'identities' of Other, that include, Razack argues, people of colour and Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian context. Further, if we return to the work of Kathleen Kirby (1996) and Inderpal Grewal (1996), through which Razack forms her arguments about movement in space, then it becomes clear that this understanding might be extended beyond just pre-1940 Martinique.

Kathleen Kirby (1996: 45) argues that the development of narratives of the Enlightenment individual was closely tied to a particular representation of space as well as to the development of technologies for managing that space. Kirby notes the geographic ways in which the individual itself is mapped; the individual is understood as a sort of closed circle, clearly separated from its outside environment and location, and made up of a sort of internal coherence and consistency (1996: 45). In her examination of some Renaissance texts, Kirby identifies how the development of mapping shaped representations of subjectivity. She writes:

> My contention is that the mapping subject, now as then, is a construct incapable of responding to many of the features of the (geopolitical) environment; that it is an exclusive structure encoded with a particular gender, class, and racial positioning; that it is a structure for subjectivity unresponsive to the perspectives of many non-dominant subjectivities, particularly women (Kirby, 1996: 46).

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explains...his need to distinguish himself from them" (2002: 185). Chow suggests that as these women as understood by Fanon as attempting to 'whiten' the 'race' through their reproductive powers, something that is not out of alignment with Fanon's own political interest in bringing about a society that is not marked by racial hierarchy (Chow, 2002: 185).

Kirby's work, which she argues has contemporary relevance, can be read alongside Fanon's understanding of racialized embodiment. The hyper-embodiment or objectification of the gendered and racialized subject can also be understood as a greater linking of this subject to place. In contrast, the universal subject is one who is detached from his environment and who also organizes and maps uncharted space. While those who are not represented as subject remain hyper-embodied and bound in space, those who are constructed as subjects can move freely.

The mobile universal subject is also constituted through the discourse of travel. Inderpal Grewal (1996) examines the idea of travel in nineteenth century British and Indian discourse, arguing that these ideas have contemporary importance. Grewal (1996) makes a clear distinction in her work between ideas of travel and ideas of tourism, primarily through ideas of class and gender. She critiques the use of 'travel' to indicate universal mobility, pointing to the erasure and exclusion of many non-Eurocentric or imperialist mobilities, such as immigration, deportation, slavery and so on (Grewal, 1996). She argues:

> More than a trope, travel is a metaphor that, I argue, became an ontological discourse central to the relations between Self and Other, between different forms of alterity, between nationalisms, women, races, and classes. It remains so to this day, through continuities and discontinuities. Whether travel is a metaphor of exile, mobility, difference, modernity or hybridity, it suggests the particular ways in which knowledge of a Self, society, and nation was, and is, within European and North American culture to be understood and obtained (Grewal, 1996: 4).

Grewal (1996) argues that the discourse of travel played a crucial role in

the formation of gender and class subjectivities through the formation of contact zones, or spaces of colonial encounter, such as the civilized home and the exotic harem (Grewal, 1996). Grewal identifies these spaces as zones through which understandings of difference and identity were produced and reproduced.

There are many contemporary implications of this work. In her analysis, Grewal (1996) argues that contact zones are not only restricted to nineteenth century contexts, but that they can exist everywhere, wherever narratives of encounter with difference are spatially embodied. When taken together with Kirby's work, we see that the universal subject has the ability to freely move through, map and organize space, and also that this movement further reinforces the deracialized and ungendered nature of the subject. This movement is both and effect of and further constitutive of an embodiment that requires, Butler and Fanon suggest, an encounter with an other which may merely be a reflection of the self.

Conclusion

These ideas about racialized and gendered mobility suggest that it is important to consider how meanings of 'race' and gender are reproduced in writing, but also, in writing that seeks to expose these meanings. In this chapter, a critique of Razack's work was performed to better show how this analysis of writing might happen. The work of Butler, Fanon, and other post-colonial scholars was used to argue that any discussion of racialized and gendered mobility

must very carefully consider how bodies and spaces are constituted through meanings of 'race' and gender. Without such a consideration, it becomes possible to actually reproduce the oppression that is being challenged. To examine how this happens in Razack work, Butler's understandings of embodiment and of materiality were used to show how racialized and sexual exclusions are reproduced in Razack's argument that there exists a sort of ontological existence of bodies and spaces. Through a discussion of Butler and Fanon, it was suggested that a focus on the constitution of the materiality of both bodies and space allows us to differently develop Razack's argument that the racialized and gendered body is less mobile and is constituted within particular space.

This critique guides the discussion of the following chapters of this thesis. Rather than focus, as Razack does, on the identity or self-awareness of the subject, it is important to consider the processes that both produce the appearance of this subject, and that structure its movements. From Fanon and other theorists of mobility, it is possible to learn that it is the very constitution of the subject, or the denial of such a constitution, that is bound up with either free movement, or in the case of the racialized and gendered body, boundedness to particular space. However, if social space, as I have argued, may be conceptualized as continually reproduced through and as an effect of gendered and racialized embodiment, an effect that then further constitutes the bodies that produce it in a circular relationship, then its constitution alongside embodiment holds potential for resistance and disruption. These understandings are used in the next chapter to

examine how 'race', gender and space operate in an essay by Himani Bannerji.

Chapter Two

The main argument made in the last chapter is that the ways in which bodies take on meanings of 'race' and gender, the processes by which bodies come to be bodies at all, are spatial. In order to make links between spatial embodiment, subjectivity and mobility, ideas from Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon were used to critique an essay written by Sherene Razack. Through this critique, it was shown that the racialized and gendered body is marked by a heightened state of embodiment. This is a body that, because of its relationship of exclusion and inclusion to the domain of subjectivity, is not freely mobile and is often bound to racialized space.

The importance of these ideas for anti-racist feminist writing are made clear when considering writing about domestic violence against South Asian women in Canada. This is a context where physical movement often becomes central to resistance, and where the material space of home, generally defined through ideas of security, comes to take on meanings of insecurity. To demonstrate the ways that racialized and gendered mobility plays into this writing, this chapter focuses on a critique of Himani Bannerji's (2000) essay "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour".

In this work, Bannerji argues that violence against South Asian women in Canada must be considered in the context of their construction through racialized and gendered exclusions and inclusions from the Canadian nation-state. This is

an important and powerful essay to build on and depart from through critique. In using this essay, I bring together my arguments from the last chapter, to more clearly show their relevance in context.

The main argument made in this chapter is that although Bannerji's essay begins to show that domestic violence must be considered in relation to the articulation of racialized and gendered embodiment through national discourse, her understanding of the relationship between body, space and subjectivity actually reproduces the oppressive meanings that she wishes to upset. Although Bannerji sets out the ground work for an analysis of racialized subjectivity in national discourse, offering a clear way to examine the constitution of South Asian women's bodies in relation to spaces of home, she naturalizes the relationships between the body, social space and subjectivity. The result is that Bannerji's work, like Razack's, does not actually subvert, but in subtle ways reproduces the oppressive relationships she critiques.

A spatial analysis reveals the problematic understandings of space, body and subjectivity at the base of Bannerji's argumentation. Although the enclosure of South Asian women to a space of home is noted, Bannerji does not suggest how to enable their movement out of this space. In this chapter, it is argued that in considering the spatial element of these relationships, it becomes possible to destabilize meanings of 'race' and enable this movement.

There is a tension in Bannerji's essay between what could be a critique of subjectivity through noting the Othering of women of colour through Canadian

national discourse, and through Bannerji's arguments that South Asian women must be embodied subjects. In looking at this tension, I argue that Bannerji works with a model of subjectivity that is presented in Butler's (1993) critique of the figure of philosophy who is a disembodied body that, nonetheless, stands in as the recognized body. When considered in relation to Fanon's (1967) understanding of racialized subjectivity in *Black Skin, White Masks*, it becomes clear why this is not necessarily a desirable argument to make in the interest of anti-racist feminism; such an understanding promotes the racialized exclusions that, according to Fanon, enable the illusion of subjectivity at all. Further, this is the promotion of a process that immobilizes the racialized and gendered body and complicates its movement.

The outline of this chapter is as follows: I begin by locating Bannerji's work in the larger context of writing about violence against South Asian women in Canada, and noting the relevance of my analysis of mobility for that literature. Attention is given here to the role played by movement and ideas of home. Secondly, it is shown how Bannerji's ideas can be used to examine the constitution of women of colour through Canadian national discourse. In order to spatialize Bannerji's analysis, I turn to the work of Erin Manning (2003) in the book *Ephemeral Territories*. There, Manning outlines an understanding of homelessness in the nation, that, it is shown, is not unlinked to the binary relationship of material home and homelessness that must be negotiated in the literature on violence. Manning argues that while the proper members of a nation

are secured by its borders through national discourse, racialized and gendered strangers are left homeless in this context.

Building from Bannerji's discussion on how this exclusion/inclusion or homelessness happens through ideas of multiculturalism and ethnicity in Canadian national discourse, the problematic aspects of her understandings of subjectivity and embodiment are explored. In this section, links are made between my earlier discussion of Fanon and Butler, and Bannerji's understanding of the body and of subjectivity. I then suggest how the focus placed on the development of agency and subjectivity works to complicate the movement of South Asian women from home.

Writing About Violence Against 'South Asian' Women in Canada

The stated purpose of Himani Bannerji's essay, "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour," is to explain and challenge the silence surrounding domestic violence in what Bannerji understands to be South Asian (and other non-white) communities (2000: 153). She begins her work, written as a letter to the editors of the volume in which it was first published, by noting that the silence surrounding these issues is a result of the sensitivity that rises as a result of opening up the 'community' to white 'Canadians' for critique (Bannerji, 2000: 153, 154). The main argument of Bannerji's letter is that violence against South Asian women in Canada must be considered within the larger context of power relations that result in the formation

of ethnic communities (2000: 154). Bannerji then sets out to denaturalize the concept and formation of communities in the context of Canadian nationalism, suggesting that it is important to consider the external forces, including racism, colonization, neo-imperialism, and global economic flows, that shape the community as it is. Bannerji insists that communities are modern, not traditional, structures, and argues that it is this modern process that shapes the position of South Asian women within (2000: 164).

This essay is not only one of a growing literature of anti-racist feminist work, but also is part of the writing on violence against South Asian women in Canada. This piece draws on and departs from many of the central themes of the larger literature on violence against South Asian women in Canada. This growing literature marks the centrality of questions of violence in brown women's organizing in Canada, the U.S., the U.K., and Australia (Shukla, 1997). Many of these works focus on the silence surrounding the issues[8] and the challenges faced by women in leaving violent homes. Although Bannerji's theoretical approach departs somewhat from much of this literature, particularly in her examination of the role of national discourse in providing the context for violence and her critique of the discourse of 'culture' in creating this silence, she does develop similar ideas and themes, discussed briefly below.

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[8] Evidence of this can be found in the titles of recent works on the subject: *Breaking the Silence: Domestic violence in the South Asian-American community* (Nankani, 2000); *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital violence among South Asian immigrants in the United States* (Abraham: 2000); and the title of Bannerji's essay discussed here.

In examining this essay about domestic violence, the importance of ideas of racialized and gendered mobility is highlighted. In the previous chapter, I use Butler (1993) to show that the materiality of the body and of social space is performatively constituted through racialization and gendering, processes that are never fully complete but always open to resignification. It is also through this process, according to Butler (1993a), that subjects and agency are produced as effects. The work of Frantz Fanon (1967) and other theorists of mobility, suggests that the racialized and gendered body comes into being through a different relationship of body to space than that of the white masculine subject. This difference is explained through the complicated relationship of people of colour and women to processes of subjectivity, where they are excluded as subjects, but necessarily included as the others of white masculinity. The result is that racialization and gendering mark the body through its decreased mobility and through a sort of fixing or binding in space. Razack's (2002) work on this theme suggests that such a theory has importance for the context of English-Canadian national discourse today, an argument that I support through my work in this thesis.

These ideas of mobility are centrally important to the literature on domestic violence again South Asian Canadian women where the importance of being able to leave the physical space of home is central to ideas of resistance. It is in relation to this movement that we encounter the first of two relevant relationships of home/homelessness: the position and movement of women in

relation to their material home. Despite the dominant understandings of homelessness as being without any sort of shelter, feminist writers have argued that unsafe housing conditions, as well as unaffordable housing, transient housing (including shelter use) and other marginal conditions, should be understood as forming one end of a continuum of housing (Begin, 1999; Novac, 1996; Neal, 2004).

In negotiating issues of silence and movement, Bannerji (2000) frames her discussion to both reflect and avoid some of the language used by other writers. Although Bannerji, like others, locates this violence within the 'ethnic community' (Thakur, 1992; Khosla, 1991), she critiques the often used language of culture that is used in explanation. This language often suggests that violence is either part of South Asian patriarchal culture (Papp, 1995), or that violence is part of all cultures (Khosla, 1991). For Papp (1995), Khosla (1991), and Thakur (1992), as well as Bannerji, the pressures or fear of the 'community' place a crucial role. The community is often listed as closely linked to the violence, as in the example of Thakur's writing: "Violence is about systematic control, ownership, power and authority exerted by men over our communities and in particular over women" (Thakur, 1992: 30). These are also two of the barriers that complicate women's abilities to move away from home.

The mobility of women in relation to their home is often understood as limited for a number of 'cultural' and structural issues. Many of the authors point to the cascading complications of lack of education or credential recognition,

Canadian work experience, financial dependency, the dependency fostered through the immigration sponsorship process, racism of mainstream social services, or language abilities that leave women unable to express and leave violence (for example: Thakur, 1992; Rahder, 1999; Papp, 1995). The inadequacy and racism of mainstream services in relation to South Asian women often forms an important part of this discussion (Rahder, 1999; Shukla, 1997). Here, women often argue for separate services, those provided by women of colour for women of colour (Rahder, 1999). In Papp's (1995) writing, all of these factors combined with what seems to be understood as a cultural trait of control over women's movements in general, make this movement extremely difficult. This culture, combined with what is often represented as racist Canadian culture further complicates the situation: "In this climate of racism, in the context of exile, our culture becomes static, unchanging and keeps not only that which gives us strength and identity, but also all those biases, hierarchies and oppressions that keep so many of us locked into abuse and inferiority on the inside" (Khosla, 1991: 80).

Bannerji's essay offers an intriguing negotiation of many of these issues and, though not discussed directly, their implicit relationship to questions of women's mobility in relation to home. As I show further below, the structure of Bannerji's argument avoids such a cultural explanation of violence, and opens up a strong critique of such understandings in the interest of eluding and exposing some of the traps that other writers face. It is interesting, then, that, despite this

careful critique, Bannerji continues to reproduce some of the oppression that she attempts to subvert. It is for this reason that her work is used in this chapter.

Again, as is emphasized in the introductory chapter, the purpose of this analysis is not to examine the constitution of South Asian women's bodies in general, but the constitution of South Asian women's bodies in Bannerji's essay. This is done in recognition of the ways that the body is constantly reformulated in every reference that is made about it, and the importance of considering how this happens in resistant writing. In this critique, I am aware that my own referral to the South Asian woman's body is also a further resignification of it. This understanding is used in Chapter Three where ideas of resistance are explored in greater detail. This critique is undertaken in the interest of offering one possible reconceptualization of writing about violence.

Bannerji's Homelessness in the Nation

In the book *Ephemeral Territories*, Erin Manning argues that national discourse and discourses of state sovereignty operate through levels of understandings of home and homelessness (2003: 72). She argues that it is through national discourse that the white national citizen, the one who belongs to national territory and who is protected by state sovereignty, is contrasted with the racialized (or otherwise Othered) stranger who is excluded from this protection (Manning, 2003: 72). While the white citizen is bound properly to the nation-state, its home, and also to its own self as a subject, the stranger, who is estranged

precisely because of his or her displacement, is left unsecured (Manning, 2003: 72). Through these ideas, the idea of the nation-state as purveying boundaries of protection is secured through the metaphor of the material home, a space offering security for its proper occupants against the invasion of the stranger (Manning, 2003: 72).

Although at first glance, Manning's discussion of boundedness seems to oppose the earlier made arguments that the racialized and gendered body is marked by immobility and binding to space, it offers an interesting way to conceptualize racialized immobility. If we return to Fanon's (1967) arguments, it is the immobility of blackness that secures the subjectivity of whiteness. Further, blackness is produced merely as a reflection of whiteness, and is thus controlled and bound (Fanon, 1967). It is the status of the stranger, who is not properly bound to him or herself but is bound to the subjectivity of the white subject, that must be secured in white discourse to ensure the security of full citizens. The stranger, who is not secure within the state, must be secured *by* the nation-state to ensure the security of proper members. Additionally, it is important to consider that Manning's idea of the secure boundedness of citizens to the home-like structure of the nation or material home, does not fix in place those occupants who belong. Instead, by belonging properly to the nation, the nation's members are able to freely move within and without its territories. Through this proper belonging, expressed through this free movement, the illusion of the cohesive and

bound self as subject is maintained[9].

This relationship of homelessness and estrangement is illustrated in Bannerji's understanding of the context for domestic violence against women of colour. Her essay can be read as suggesting that because women of colour are not bound properly to the nation as full citizens or national members, they are left in a position of necessary inclusion and exclusion. Bannerji points to the negotiation and controlling of this unstable location by Canadian national discourse through ideas of multiculturalism and ethnic community. For Bannerji, this discourse shapes the construction and social position of women of colour. I use this section to outline how this Otherness is diagnosed in Bannerji's essay, in order to suggest how reading the spatial element into the essay allows the potential and problems of her analysis to be made visible.

multiculturalism

The setting for Bannerji's letter is the racialized and gendered English-Canadian nationalism that, she suggests, must be considered in a reading of violence against women of colour. She begins her discussion by pointing to the importance of this consideration:

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[9] It is important to note, as is discussed further below, that for Manning (2003), as for Fanon, the stranger's position at this border of Self/Other is precarious and full of potential. This could be read along Fanon's (1967) understanding of that elusive mystery which exceeds the representation of blackness and leaves open the potential for disruption.

> We need to remember that we are the 'others' of white women in the Canadian national imaginary, and this is connected with the fact that we are an integral part of the peoples who were brought as indentured workers, or migrated to Canada from former colonies under severe economic conditions created by post-colonial imperialism. Unlike European or white women, we present 'Canada' with the problem of inassimilation. We are simultaneously essentialized into homogenous yet racialized and ethnicized subjects, whose actual differences are drowned in the multicultural discourse of diversity. The pre-existence of a colonial/racist/Orientalist perception and stereotypes of us, embedded in official and everyday structural and cultural practices and meanings, have been powerful sources of distortion and misrepresentation of our subjectivities and politics...This is productive of an ethos of European or white supremacy which provides the political conscious or unconscious of Canada's nation state and political-cultural space. We are simultaneously present and absent in these spaces, and in the apparatus of the state (Bannerji, 2000: 156).

This paragraph opens up the possibilities of reading Bannerji through Manning's understanding of national homelessness. For Bannerji, this homelessness is achieved through the language of multiculturalism and ethnic community. Although Bannerji points to the multiple ways in which South Asian women are excluded from the 'space' of the nation, she complicates her analysis by suggesting that these are actually 'spaces' of simultaneous exclusion and inclusion. In this essay, the crucial position of this "presence and absence" in Canadian national discourse for people of colour is the context of multiculturalism and the language of 'culture'. This language, Bannerji argues, through which people of colour come to be the Others of white Canadians, is both supported and further promoted by the construction of difference through the traditional/modern dichotomy (Bannerji, 2000: 155). In this way, white 'Canadians' are understood as 'modern', while people of colour are seen as

belonging to 'traditional' cultures (Bannerji, 2000: 155). This, as discussed below, explains how people of colour might appear in the 'modern' context, but be safely secured within traditional material space.

It is the discourse of multiculturalism that helps to legitimize such a division. In her other works that supplement the essay discussed here, Bannerji argues that although Aboriginal people and non-white people do not play a part in the Anglo-Franco rivalry represented as the "essential conflict of the nation", they are inside and essential to Canadian identity through the idea of tolerance (Bannerji, 1996). Non-white people are inserted into the historic rivalry of the two founding nations through the English-Canadian idea that greater racism and homogeneity is found in Québec (Bannerji, 1996: 109). As a sort of distinctively Canadian trait, multiculturalism and the 'visible minorities' it produces "[serve] as a culmination for the ideological construction of Canada" (Bannerji, 1996: 109). The racializing potential of this language is further explained by Eva Mackey, who points to the problematic way that multiculturalism constructs a normalized un-hyphenated core culture, that constructs other minority cultures in relation (Mackey, 2002). To return again to Manning's discussion of the stranger, the inclusion of 'diversity' as an emblem of Canadianness symbolizes "the desire to make contact with the Other, even as we wish the boundaries of the self and other to remain intact" (2003: 70). As I develop further in the next chapter, this places the stranger in a crucial position at the boundary of difference and order.

The role of racialization in these relationships of exclusion/inclusion is

explained in part by Etienne Balibar. Balibar suggests that this double move of absence and presence might be explained through the idea that racialized systems are required by nationalism's tendencies towards both particularism and universalism (1990). He argues that 'race' is implicated in nationalist ideas that are particularist in their quest for a sort of racial purity, and also for those tendencies that are universalist in the quest for national superiority. Through the desire for a pure and superior nation, the language of nationalism focuses on the 'race' of the nation's children (Balibar, 1990: 284). This results in a desire to expel and exclude those impure members within the national territory (Balibar, 1990: 284). Balibar suggests that this move is key in the production of 'race':

> This is an obsessive imperative, capable of purely and simply creating its own objects (racism is thus an essential aspect of the generalized 'projective field' of political alienation) and in all cases directly responsible for the 'racialization' of populations and social groups whose collective features will be designated stigmata of exteriority and impurity (1990: 284).

As noted above, it is the dominance of cultural discourse that Bannerji understands as creating a silence around issues of violence against South Asian women in Canada. The language of culture and multiculturalism, Bannerji emphasizes, organizes and controls difference through binaries of tradition/modernity and civilization/savagery (2000: 161). The result, she writes, is that "[t]his reduces non-Europeans the world over into pre-modern, traditional, or even downright savage peoples, while equating Europeans with modernity, progress, and civilization…These are the ideological underpinnings of the not so benign discourse of multicultural diversity" (Bannerji, 2000: 161). Where such

an understanding of difference dominates, exposing domestic violence can lead to the further racialization of the 'ethnic community', leading to a situation of "double jeopardy, since speaking and not speaking both entail problems" (Bannerji, 2000: 153).

This 'double jeopardy' is illustrated by a brief consideration of the position of domestic violence against women of colour in areas within the discipline of Political Science. Here, racialized domestic violence forms an interesting part of the liberal debates on multiculturalism and feminism. As we see in the works of liberal theorists like Susan Moller Okin (1998) and Joseph Carens (2000), it is an ongoing debate as to whether the protection of cultural difference in western industrialized countries poses a threat to the promotion of modern liberal values, such as equal rights for women (Moller Okin, 1998). In this literature, 'minority' cultures are often understood as motivated strongly by religion, tradition and custom, and, it is suggested, are characterized by being deeply patriarchal (Moller Okin, 1998). In this context, violence against racialized women by their partners is one often used example of a traditional cultural characteristic that might have to be protected through multicultural policy (Moller Okin, 1998). More progressive liberal thinkers suggest that this violence is not limited to one culture, and is something that may be addressed through the promotion of liberal values of equal rights (Carens, 2000).

community

The second aspect of Bannerji's analysis that can be read through Manning's understanding of national homelessness, is the ethnic community as symptomatic of the relationships of inclusion/exclusion to the nation. The discussion of violence in the essay focuses on the position of South Asian women in 'ethnic communities' and the external forces that shape the communities and women's positions. This is a critical component of Bannerji's argument, as her writing is an attempt to give voice to violence, despite the dominance of cultural explanations that quieten. Instead of excusing or protecting experiences of racialized domestic violence, Bannerji argues that we must be ready to openly critique the "patriarchal constitution of our communities, which is the same as all other communities, without too much squeamishness about our dirty laundry" (2000: 154). To ease this critique, Bannerji shows that there is nothing natural or traditional about the 'community', but instead that it owes its formation to the continued racialization of people of colour in the Canadian context.

Reading Bannerji's arguments along with my earlier discussion in this and the previous chapter, I suggest that her discussion here can be understood as showing that the traditional/modern dichotomy associated with the idea of culture allows the communities to, in my understanding, materialize as particular material spaces and bodies, further constituting the bodies that come to belong there. This returns us to the earlier arguments made regarding the racializing potential of ideas of culture, tradition, and modernity, all of which are 'constructed' and not

'natural' concepts (Bannerji, 2000: 155). Rather than pre-existing historical cultural traditions, Bannerji argues that "the construction of traditionality is...fleshed out with the invention of particular traditions -- relevant for different nationalities and cultural groups" (2000: 155), a construction that deeply implicates ideas of 'patriarchy' (Bannerji, 2000: 155). The result of which is a sort of "traditional (patriarchal) identity [that], then, is equally the result of an othering from powerful outside forces and an internalized Orientalism and a gendered class organization" (Bannerji, 2000: 155).

Through this critique of communities, Bannerji begins simultaneously to critique the naturalness of 'ethnic' identity, as well as that of the Canadian nationalism that, she argues, structures this construction. Through this analysis, Bannerji offers support for Manning's observation that "[o]ne of the ways of confronting the nationalizing politics of white supremacy is by exploring the position of the stranger within the discourse of the nation-state" (Manning, 2003: 72). In pointing to the ways that homelessness in the nation actually secures both the nation and its homed members, Bannerji starts to upset ideas of Canadianness, identity, and 'culture'.

When considered in relation to the previous chapter, Bannerji's discussion might be read as suggesting how the body comes into being through racialization and gender in national discourse, and additionally, how the spatial aspects of this embodiment might be studied. The implications of Bannerji's arguments do not merely affect the constitution of racialized and gendered bodies, but also those

bodies that properly belong to 'Canada'. For example, what is in part suggested is that, within Bannerji's understanding, whiteness, in the Canadian context, is reaffirmed (and hidden!) through the language of national identity. As is suggested earlier, this is an identity that is never fully complete, but in constant need of reaffirmation through encounters with a racialized Other produced in its image. As multiculturalism, according to Bannerji and others, becomes a defining characteristic of Canadianness, the territory naturalized as Canadian through nationalism becomes a contact zone where any encounter with racialized bodies affirms that subjectivity remains within the domain of whiteness as Canadianness. The roles of national discourse, body and space in this interaction are crucial.

A number of questions are opened up by and about Bannerji's important discussion through a consideration of its spatial implications: What does Bannerji's essay suggest about the mobility of the South Asian women in question? How do these ideas relate to any implicit or explicit reference to the homespace in Bannerji's analysis? Further, what are the implications of this discussion of culture and community for the homes to which South Asian women's bodies belong? Are these spaces of security? What does this mean for resistance? In the section below, some possible answers are explored.

Bannerji's Subject of Canadianness

Despite this attention given to the ways in which South Asian women are excluded/included in Canadian nationalism and marked as Others, Bannerji does

not develop a serious critique of subjectivity itself in the national context. Instead, through arguing that the subjectivities of women of colour are misrepresented, Bannerji's suggestions for resistance include a focus on the development of agency and subjectivity for women of colour. In this section, I refer back to my previous chapter to show that this argument only further naturalizes the relationship between nation, space and body, and as a result further promotes racialized and gendered meanings.

If, as suggested above, Bannerji's essay can be understood as showing that it is through national discourse that racialized and gendered bodies may materialize, and if we can understand her reading of Canadian national discourse as bringing into being the bodies of South Asian women through 'race' and gender, then, in light of my discussion of Fanon in the last chapter, it is useful to consider the impacts of this process on their subjectivity. Bannerji's work might be read through Fanon to suggest that, as the Others of white women, brought into being through Canadian national discourse, South Asian women are not, and cannot be, subjects. In Fanon's (1967) *Black Skin, White Masks,* an analysis of the colonial relationship between black and white men, subjectivity is understood as a process by which whiteness self-reproduces, using blackness as a reflection constructed in its own image, in order to develop its white Self. In this way, as is reflected in Bannerji's analysis of non-white people in the Canadian context, blackness is a representative type, assembled through white mythologies.

Although Bannerji's arguments support Fanon's thinking, even in her

pointing to the ways women of colour "are simultaneously essentialized into homogenous yet racialized and ethnicized subjects, whose actual differences are drowned in the multicultural discourse of diversity," there is little critique of the racialized and gendered nature of subjectivity and embodiment themselves (2000: 156). Throughout Bannerji's essay there is a tension between what seems to be a critique of subjectivity and the role of national discourse, and her arguments for the development of agency as a path of resistance.

This tension is highlighted in the conclusion, where it is cautioned that women should not "look" for "enclosed and co-opted identities" in the interest of religion, nationalism, culture, or the state (Bannerji, 2000: 173). Here, Bannerji comes very close to upsetting the naturalized relationship between identity and the body, but fails to consider the links between identity, body and agency that would allow her to better challenge racialized and gendered exclusions. This tension results from her understanding of two things: the relationships between discourse and subjects, and secondly, her understanding of embodiment.

First, like Razack (2002), Bannerji adopts an understanding of discourse and subjectivity, as existing outside a sort of absolute material reality. An example of this is found in the quote used earlier in this chapter. There Bannerji writes: "The pre-existence of a colonial/racist/Orientalist perception and stereotypes of us, embedded in official and everyday structural and cultural practices and meanings, have been powerful sources of distortion and misrepresentation of our subjectivities and politics" (2000: 156). Bannerji

separates discourse here from the 'true' subjectivity that exists outside its inaccurate representation. It is not suggested that these representations are also themselves formulations of "our subjectivities and politics" (2000: 156).

The racialized and gendered exclusions at the heart of subjectivity are described by Butler in *Gender Trouble* (1990) and *Bodies That Matter* (1993). To return again briefly to my earlier discussion of her work, Butler (1990, 1993) understands subjectivity, as well as the materialization of the body, as the effect of gender performativity, a highly regulated and compelled process. Again, it is important to remember that performativity does not suggest the actions of a subject who performs, but rather the bringing into being of what is named through that naming (1990, 1993). Butler's arguments points to the ways in which developing arguments for the agency of the subject, that which covers over the constitution of the subject through the assumption of sex and 'race', enforces those norms compelling constitution.

In arguing for the development of women as agents, Bannerji (2000: 173), is, to some extent, arguing for the racialized and gendered exclusions that underlie the illusion of subjectivity and agency. Further, in developing this argument, especially in light of her understanding of full subjectivity as belonging to white Canadians, Bannerji, oddly enough, is arguing for women of colour to assume a position of whiteness. This desire for subjectivity is, however, perhaps explained through Manning whose stranger fulfills Otherness for national subjectivity, and is found at the border of inclusion and exclusion (2003: 72). In this highly

guarded position, the stranger is both encouraged to "remain a subject-in-process", but also to experience the pain of belonging "neither here nor there" (Manning, 2003: 72). This pain and desire for subjectivity is also reflected in Fanon's work, where he understand that humanity itself is defined in colonial discourse through ideas of whiteness (1967).

As both Butler and Fanon argue that subjectivity is closely related to embodiment, it is important to consider how Bannerji understands the body in relation to 'race' and gender. In this essay, Bannerji adopts a somewhat confusing position on embodiment, arguing that both "disembodiment and objectification are the foundations of violence against women, which cannot happen without a material or social base of domination" (2000: 169). To clarify, disembodiment is understood in Bannerji's essay as the symbolization of women through metaphor, and is linked to use of women as "significatory objects" (Bannerji, 2000: 169). Bannerji argues that this disembodiment, the conversion of a person or "socio-historical being, into a sign or symbol" is dehumanizing and is based on the same principles at work in other oppressive movements, like the Holocaust, and anti-Aboriginal genocide (2000: 169-170). It is this process that renders women into objects and not agents, and which, Bannerji argues, must be resisted (2000: 170).

This understanding of the body and subjectivity is also reflected by Bannerji's desire to write this essay as a letter. At the opening of the essay, Bannerji explains that the topic of violence against women requires an "embodied reader" and should not be discussed in theoretical abstractions (2000: 151). This

understanding does suggest that Bannerji adopts an understanding of subjectivity and embodiment as linked, associating objectification with dehumanization and a lack of agency. In these ways, Bannerji seems to be arguing for the embodied subjectivity of South Asian women and other women of colour in the Canadian context.

This tension can be resolved in part by considering Butler's understanding of body that is recognized as such. As discussed in Chapter One, Butler describes the figure of the white masculine subject of philosophy as "a figure of disembodiment, but one which is nonetheless a figure of a body" (Butler, 1993: 49). In arguing for women to be political agents in the same capacity as men (2000: 173), Bannerji is, at the same time, challenging the masculinized and disembodied character of theory, but also arguing for women to be embodied agents in the way that men are. In this move, Bannerji suggests that the gendered and racialized body is objectified and differentiated from the white masculine subject, but also sets out a path of resistance that perhaps, in light of Butler and Fanon's critique of subjectivity and agency, is not necessarily enabling.

Moving Home

To return to the relevance of this discussion of mobility and subjectivity, it is important to consider the implications of this for the physical movement of South Asian women through spaces of home and their spaces of belonging. To do this, I explore first the spaces to which this figure might belong, within Bannerji's

work, and then look at the mobility of the figure of her analysis. A spatial analysis of Bannerji's work reveals that, indeed, the woman of colour who comes into being through racialization and gendering in this context is bound to spaces of material home. Unfortunately, although this spatial binding can be read from her essay, Bannerji does not suggest how to enable its destabilization. As is noted above and further below, in arguing for subjectivity and not for the critique of subjectivity, it remains unclear how to enable this movement.

It is suggested by Bannerji's analysis that the spaces to which this body is bound by its constitution through national discourse are those spaces of the material home. There are a number of elements which suggest this, especially the emphasis placed on the capacity for this discourse to domesticate South Asian women. These ideas are reflected in Bannerji's discussion of the history of Canadian nation building, where she suggests that women of colour present the problem of impossible assimilation, presumably not only through their own bodies, but also through their racialized reproductive capacity (Bannerji, 2000: 156). In her critique of the 'disembodiment' of women through the symbolism of their bodies, she writes:

> The most prominent of the woman signs in the context of nations and communities is that of the mother, the ultimate incarnation of the 'good woman'. The 'goodness' of women in this extreme patriarchal incarnation, but in others as well, is manifested in a nurturing and sacrificing conduct at the service of the patriarchal family and equally patriarchal causes of larger collectivities, such as the nation or the community (Bannerji, 2000: 170).

Bannerji goes on to suggest that it is a fear of women's sexualities,

mediated through national and community discourse, that keeps them enclosed in private space (2000: 170). The presumed heterosexuality of South Asian women, both in the context of what Bannerji understands as community discourse as well as national discourse, is reflected in this understanding of women as primarily reproducers. This position of women in community and nation that Bannerji identifies also desexualizes women, as they are understood as reproducers, but also as reproducers who, Bannerji argues, are the property of the men in the community (2000: 168).

This movement is further complicated, not only by Bannerji's understanding of embodiment and subjectivity, but also by her location of domestic violence in relation to women of colour. From the title of this essay itself "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour" it becomes clear that Bannerji places this violence, and the woman who, in her article, are brought into being in part by their experiences of this violence, within the ethnic community. In the language used, in speaking about, and only about, "community violence" (2002: 152), Bannerji further constitutes South Asian women through their belonging to 'ethnic' communities, to South Asian men, and to reproductive roles. Despite her 'denaturalization' of the formation of community, the position of women in these communities is not really challenged or opened up, but is only understood as being one of 'property' (Bannerji, 2000: 168). In this way, Bannerji both argues that South Asian women come into being through the idea of community and should be considered only in

this context, without suggesting how this belonging might be challenged.

Although Bannerji's analysis suggests that South Asian women are bound to material home space, it should be noted that this is a very different space than that of the full citizens that Manning (2003) describes. These citizens are secure and protected, marked as citizens in their being bound to material home, as well as to the nation. They are not immobilized by this belonging, but, because of it, are free to move. So how does the homelessness in the nation that women of colour might experience in the Canadian context relate to this binding of South Asian women to home? It is exactly their position as strangers in the nation, strangers necessary for the subjectivity of citizens, that requires them to be controlled in order to secure the citizens' homes, nation and subjectivity. In this context, this translates into the materiality of the racialized home, as well as their difficulty to move.

Even though Bannerji's essay points to an important relationship of space, body, and nation at play here, Bannerji reproduces the violence she critiques in arguing for agency and subjectivity. These arguments do not challenge the immobility associated with racialized and gendered embodiment, but further conceal and support it. Despite the room in this essay to point to the dangers of "enclosed and co-opted identities", the theoretical framework further encloses them.

Manning (2003) argues that because this stranger is linked with homelessness in these ways, he or she cannot take part in the national narratives

of home. Instead, the home becomes a position of security, only a possibility at all for the citizen (Manning, 2003: 74). In the case of the South Asian woman who figures in Bannerji's analysis, the home space to which she is bound materializes through racialized ideas of culture and tradition. As noted, Bannerji's work highlights the important role plays by the language of culture in the constitution of South Asian women's bodies through Canadian national discourse. As it is expressed further through ideas of tradition, people of colour are often associated with pre-modernity and, Bannerji suggests, deeper sexism and patriarchy than that of Canada (Bannerji, 2000: 155, 162). This home, then, does not materialize as a space of security, but as a space where tradition and patriarchy rule. The security of women in this space is not presumed, but neither is it deeply challenged. It is here that strangers are secured by national discourse, without the freedom to move.

Conclusion

If Fanon's understanding of racialized embodiment can be applied to this context, as is suggested by the work of Bannerji and Manning, then the woman of colour in this context is marked through a heightened state of embodiment. If indeed, the stranger is included and excluded to Canadian national discourse because of 'race', and if this inclusion/exclusion is at the basis of the production of Canadian identity, then it is possible that subjectivity is not a desirable option for these bodies. The links between race, subjectivity, embodiment and mobility take

on central importance here. Further, as Manning and Balibar note, it is through national discourse that this exclusion/inclusion at the heart of racialization is naturalized.

Considering this, it is not subjectivity that becomes important, but a deconstruction of subjectivity that exposes these naturalized relationships between body, space and nation, as I explore further in the next chapter through an artistic work by Jin-me Yoon. Bannerji's work is critical in its opening up of the relationships between nation, race and gender that allow us to examine her understanding of the constitution of South Asian women. In this writing, it becomes clear that racialized and gendered mobility complicates the movement of South Asian women out of spaces of abusive home. Unfortunately, it is not clear how to enable this movement.

Manning suggests where potential for this resistance might lie. She writes:

> Identity as a reconceptualization of the limits of the national imaginary must always be that which is under construction, refigured and disfigured by the other. For such a deconstruction of identity to take place, the Other must no longer be the accessible and identifiable measure of difference negotiated by the powerful centre. Encounters must be challenging, and, as such, they must subvert the boundary formations that seek to prevent a traversal and translation of texts (Manning, 2003: 62).

Bannerji's essay begins to point towards such encounters, both in her critique of identity, and in her critique of Canadian nationalism, 'race', gender and violence. To some extent, if read as a sort of strategic embodiment, the letter format of this essay can be understood as enabling speech for women of colour

within a racialized and gendered context. By marking the letter in such a way, it being written not in a disembodied academic voice, but a personal voice, marked by the 'race' and gender of its owner, dialogue is opened up. If this is opened up through an awareness of the illusory nature of subjectivity and the gendered and racialized exclusions at its base, then it presents itself in resistance.

Despite this potential, however, as Manning insists, encounters of difference must challenge and subvert the very borders that are formed as difference. Referring back to our discussion of the stranger, it becomes necessary for him or her to "compose a story of belonging that escapes the vocabulary of confinement that ensures that the homed be immediately distinguishable from the homeless" (Manning, 2003: 74). In the next chapter, I look at the work of artist Jin-me Yoon to suggest how this might take place through a careful consideration of the role played by space.

Chapter Three

> When the homeless, exiled stranger attempts to move beyond the nationalizing discourse of the border, he or she must create his or her precarious and fragile space of habitation outside the parameters of the fissure that presides between inside and outside. The stranger achieves such a rearticulation of border practices through a reconceptualizing of what it means to 'belong', thereby creating a discourse through which he or she can begin to house him- or herself that diverges from the nation's official narratives of inclusion and exclusion (Manning, 2003: 73).

Introduction

The large photograph in the gallery is at the same time familiar and unsettling – an 'Asian' woman is posing before Lake Louise. She is looking at the camera lens with a steady, unsmiling expression, her hands at her sides, the mountains and lake behind her as a backdrop. With a smile, you might recall the familiar image of a (Japanese?) tourist at one of Canada's national sites. But there is something disconcerting about the photograph, something troubling in the solidity of the woman's stance and facial expression that suggests that she is not a visitor, or, at least, that she has a complicated relationship with 'here'.

This image has stayed with me despite having first seen it at the Canadian Museum of Contemporary Photography before having been to Lake Louise. As I stand before what could be a false background, feel my body clearly detached from my surroundings, I wonder, as I often do when traveling in Canada, how my brown body, now doubly-tourist, is being read. There is a tension produced in this image on many levels between this body and space, resolved in part through the body's belonging to elsewhere: 'South East Asian,' 'Japanese tourist,' or,

even, 'hyphenated-Canadian.'

This photograph helps in thinking through the ideas worked together here in this chapter about the South Asian woman of Bannerji's essay. In the last chapter, it was suggested that in the essay "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour," Himani Bannerji (2000) begins, but does not resolve, a process of breaking apart naturalized relationships between embodiment, space and nation. Despite showing that the bodies of women of colour in Canada take on meaning through a simultaneous inclusion and exclusion from national discourse, she argues that resistance against violence against these women must happen through the development of their subjectivity and agency. Reading these ideas through the work of Butler and Fanon, it was shown that this strategy only further produces the racialized and gendered exclusions and immobility that sustain the appearance of a subject. The result is that in arguing for subjectivity, Bannerji's essay risks further binding South Asian women to the spaces of violent home instead of enabling their movement away.

In the interest of challenging that immobility and in further developing understandings of resistance, I turn to this photographic work, *Souvenirs of the Self* (2001), by Jin-me Yoon. The general argument made in this chapter is that the insidious ways that 'race' operates might be challenged through a critique and denaturalization of the relationship between body and space. I return to the initial theoretical arguments made to show that resistance is opened up in the very ways that the body itself materializes through 'race' and gender and in the spatiality of

this process. The purpose of this chapter is to show the importance of considering these disruptive possibilities at play for Bannerji's writing about violence against South Asian women.

To learn how the immobility of Bannerji's South Asian women might be refigured, I analyse Yoon's image through the earlier discussion of racialized and gendered mobility, and through ideas of Erin Manning (2003). In the quote used above, Manning argues that the national stranger, the figure who must necessarily be excluded from a belonging or home-ing in the nation, occupies a space of potential. At the border between inclusion and exclusion, the stranger's materiality, and often material location, reveals that such a gap exists, and has the potential to expose the false binaries that sustain strangerhood (Manning, 2003). Yoon's image is read as resistant in the way that it destabilizes the naturalized relationship between bodies and spaces, showing each to be constituted through the other, and revealing the necessary exclusions that ground the materialization of both. By revealing the internally ruptured logic of nationalism, through a focus on the ways that bodies and spaces take on relative meaning in this context through their necessary exclusion from national discourse, this image starts to break away the groundings of racialized meaning.

These insights are used to examine and challenge the immobility of the figure of Bannerji's essay in relation to the spaces of material home and homelessness. The subject of Bannerji's essay can be understood as bound to the space of material home precisely because of her exclusion from belonging to the

nation. Guided by the analysis of Yoon and Manning, it is argued that the question of physical immobility might be further opened through an examination of how it is secured through the binary relationship of material home and homelessness. It is argued that these relationships allow the materialization of properly gendered and (de)racialized citizens. I argue that in occupying a material space between the binary relationships of both material and national home and homelessness, the South Asian woman of Bannerji's essay exposes the ways that both binaries sustain each other and also sustain the racialized immobility of Bannerji's South Asian women. In doing so, new meanings are opened up, and this immobilized body can take new forms.

Bannerji's Silences

The importance of considering the spatial aspects of racialized and gendered embodiment, particularly its implications for mobility, is highlighted by Himani Bannerji's (2000) essay "A Question of Silence: Reflections on Violence Against Women in Communities of Colour." In analysing existing barriers to resisting this violence, Bannerji points to the context of Canadian national discourse and its power to exclude and include women of colour through the language of multiculturalism and 'ethnic' community. In this essay, written as a personal letter to the editors of the volume where it was first published, Bannerji argues that women must refuse to accept their communities and identities as natural and should consider how their social position is shaped by external forces

(2000: 154). To begin such a consideration, Bannerji challenges the idea that communities are formed naturally or instinctually because of their traditional communal cultures, and points instead to the ways that such a formation is shaped through geopolitical, economic, and social forces (Bannerji, 2000: 156).

The conclusions of the letter and its call to resistant action are based on the understanding that developing a subject's agency gives him or her the ability to challenge the ways that 'race' and gender work to oppress him or her. Such an understanding builds on Bannerji's earlier arguments that the subjectivities of people of colour, specifically women, have been misrepresented in Canadian discourse (Bannerji, 2000: 156). In suggesting resistant action, the letter's conclusion focuses on the idea that women must challenge their national, racial, and religious identities and critically examine the role of the state in promoting multiculturalism over anti-racism (Bannerji: 2000, 173). Bannerji insists that in doing so, South Asian women and other women of colour will emphasize that they "have the same political needs, rights, and potentials as men -- to be full citizens or members of nation states and to become agents in revolutionary politics" (Bannerji, 2000: 173).

In my critique of Bannerji's letter in Chapter Two, it is argued that these arguments for change, because of the underlying understanding of subjectivity and embodiment, actually reproduce the racialized and gendered oppressions challenged. As is outlined in the two previous chapters, the appearance of a subject, of agency, and of a body, are all effects of a process that operates through

a series of racialized and gendered exclusions. If the interest of anti-racist feminist thought is to critique and expose the ways that such oppression might work, especially in its most subtle ways, then it is crucial to consider and critique how meanings of 'race' and gender are both at the heart of and perpetuated by these processes. The purpose of my engagement with Bannerji's essay, building on my discussion of Razack's work in the first chapter, is to show how this understanding of resistance actually complicates writing about women's movements away from violence in the home.

In relation to Bannerji's writing and the question of domestic violence against South Asian women in Canada, the importance of considering the spatial implications of racialized and gendered embodiment are especially important. In Fanon's understanding, not only is the body produced through the relationship of subjectivity and 'race', but it also materializes the black body differently than the white body. While white bodies, those of the proper subject, are free to move, the black body comes into being through a fixing in space (Fanon, 1967; Fuss, 1994). The preclusion of subjectivity for black men, who are the Others of white men, marks their hyper-embodiment; while white bodies are simply bodies, the black body is the black man (Fanon, 1967).

In light of these ideas and my earlier discussion of the work of Butler, the physical movement of bodies is not the result of the agency of the subject, but can be understood as materializing as a result of the ways in which power is/produces that body and social space. If the mobility of a body and the production of space

are constituted through 'race' and gender, and if, in the context of Bannerji's analysis, this happens through national discourse, what would enable the movement of Bannerji's South Asian woman out of an abusive home? How do nation, body and space work together in this context to produce this immobility? Bringing together the arguments of my last two chapters, I argue that the figure of the South Asian woman of Bannerji's essay holds potential in her material location between both binaries of material and national home and homelessness to upset the relationships producing her immobility.

In the quote used at the start of this chapter, Manning (2003) points to the stranger of/to the nation who can reconceptualize what is meant by belonging. This stranger occupies a position of great potential, marking the border between what is included and what is excluded, and pointing to the falseness of such a border by occupying a position between that binary relationship. Manning's stranger is a figure occupying a conceptual, but also, perhaps, a material space of great potential. In the analysis below, I show how Yoon's image *Souvenirs of the Self* uses such a material and conceptual location to disrupt the naturalized relationship between 'race', nation and space. This image is offered as an example of how a focus on the grounding of these ideas through space opens up new possibilities for resistance, using this to guide the further discussion of Bannerji below.

Souvenirs of the Self and Resistance

How is it possible to identify and tap into this space in between? Erin Manning argues that in order to explore and subvert meaning, we must address the porousness of boundaries "be they the borders of our selves or the political boundaries that dictate our sense of belonging within the home and/as the nation" (Manning, 2003: 62). In this section, the work *Souvenirs of the Self (Lake Louise)* is used to examine how these borders of body, self, and nation might be rewritten, through a focus on the productive relationship of body and space. Focus is placed here on two things: first, how Jin-me Yoon importantly challenges and opens up body, space, and subjectivity as sites for the resignification of meaning, and secondly, the use of Yoon's own body as a figure of resistant potential, the stranger at the border who can upset the systems at work. It is argued that part of the power of this work, its ability to denaturalize and destabilize, stems from its representation of both bodies and space as continually engaged in a process of resignification. The result is the opening of new discursive possibilities through an examination of the exclusions that permit materialization at all.

Miming the nation-building tradition of landscape art and particularly the work of the Group of Seven, Yoon places herself squarely in front of some of Canada's most recognizable national scapes and confronts the viewer with the resulting tension. Establishing a relationship with the viewer in different ways, this work has been exhibited in a number of different forms. These forms include an installation of six large images, the same images displayed beside Group

member Lawren Harris' work, *Athabaska Valley*, and a set of six postcards that are available for purchase at the gallery gift store (Kang, 1998). Although I focus here on one image, *Lake Louise*, the larger work consists of six photographic images displaying an 'Asian' woman, in fact, Yoon herself, in six different tourist sites at Banff, Alberta. In the second exhibition format, captions are written near the works in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean (Lafleur, 1996).

In engaging with the history of Canadian identity formation through art, Yoon not only exposes the slippery ways that racialized and gendered exclusions ground the experience of being 'at home' in the Canadian nation, but also opens up a new sort of belonging to its spaces. In entering into dialogue with the work of the Group of Seven, *Souvenirs of the Self* points to the ways that national, racialized and gendered 'identities', as well, perhaps, as the Self, are contentiously stabilized in and through space. The artist has been quoted in an article about the work as saying, "I am interested in appropriating the genre of landscape photography to question the constructed 'nature' of Canadian identity. Imaged in the heroic setting of the Canadian Rockies, can I, as a non-Western woman, enjoy a 'naturalized' relationship to this landscape" (Lai, 2000: 182)?

As noted, the danger of focusing on ideas of subjectivity and agency in writing about oppression, lies in the racialized and gendered exclusions that enable the very constitution of the subject, then covered over by the appearance of agency. For Butler, the subject comes into being through a series of exclusions: "though the creation of a domain of deauthorized subjects, presubjects, figures of

Figure 1. Jin-me Yoon, *Souvenirs of the Self*, 2001. One of 6 photographs (C print), 64 x 40 inches. Reproduced with permission of the artist from the University of Lethbridge Art Collection.

abjection, populations erased from view" (1992: 13). In Butler's understanding, this constitution is enabled through a sexual identification compelled by the regulatory power of heterosexuality (1993a: 3). Through this performative assumption of sex, not only the subject and its agency, but also its body materialize, covering over the process of constitution (1993a: 3). A similar, yet different understanding of these exclusions is presented in Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks.* Here, the racialized exclusions at the heart of subjectivity, where blackness is falsely represented in white discourse as Other, mean that black subjects are not a possibility (1967). In order to secure the domain of subjectivity as white, blackness must be represented in white discourse as Other, yet is denied subjectivity itself.

In this discussion of the photographic work, it is argued that it is the understanding of subjectivity, embodiment and space underlying this image that allows for such a critique and destabilization. Yoon's work points to the ways that this racialized and gendered embodiment and the production of a 'Self' happen through national discourse. In further considering the role of landscape, this work refers to the tricky ways that these relationships operate and are grounded (and possibly ungrounded) through the materialization of space. The figure that materializes in this image comes into being because of its performative production of gender and 'race' through the national discourse that materializes its spatial context. This marking is the process by which Manning argues that homeless strangers are produced in national discourse, locating them between

inclusion and exclusion. In materializing at this border, this body enables the material production of national space, and also produces the body of the properly accommodated citizen.

In revealing these exclusions, Yoon's work opens up new relationships of belonging. Through the words 'We are also keepers of this land,' and 'This land is also our home,' written in a language that most white Canadians cannot understand, Yoon mimes the role of landscape photography in appropriating and constituting space as national. The photograph itself, and the location of this body in this space, Yoon points to the power of this body to resignify these relationships. The resistant power of this image stems from an understanding of space and body that leaves it open to new meanings and formulations, supporting Butler's understanding that all references are further formulations of the materiality or subjectivity in question (1992). Yoon's work reveals the metonymic relations at play between body, nation, and space to be just that, but further plays with this power to create new meaning. Her work points to the possibility for not only the renegotiation of space but also of bodies, as this body at once refuses to be read both with and without its 'race' and gender. In this way, both the oppressive and transformative possibilities of racialized and gendered meanings are uncovered.

This resignification happens in part through the reference to 'souvenirs' and the role of historical narratives in materializing a landscape, a body or a subjectivity. Manning writes, "Through a renegotiation of the naturalized aspects

of our cultural and political identities, we become aware that we have been taught that to understand who we are, we must be capable of appropriating a past as our own" (2003: 62). In speaking to the Harris work, *Souvenirs of the Self* rereads the spatial history of Canadian nationalism through the dissonance that is created when the non-white woman's body is placed in a non-urban 'Canadian' space. This dissonance is exposed in what Sherene Razack argues are the three main spatial historical narratives that undergird the national discourse of white settler state societies (Razack, 2002a: 3). These myths are reflected in the history of landscape art in Canadian identity formation. The first two of these myths, that the early history of the settlement of the state was comprised of the European discovery of lands that were either empty or were inhabited by uncivilized people (Razack, 2002a: 3), or that this wild land was settled by "hardy and enterprising European settlers" (Razack, 2002a: 3) are reflected in the Harris work. In its presentation of Canada as wild, masculine, bereft and northern, it erases the presence of Aboriginal people, as well as the labour of non-white people in settling this land. Through these spatial histories, the systematic dispossessions of Aboriginal people, as well as the carefully executed exclusion or selective inclusion of people of colour, are erased (Razack, 2002a: 4).

Yoon's work reveals not only the falseness of the first two myths, but also critiques the third. This third spatial narrative reflects the location of people of colour and non-whiteness within particular parts of urban centres in the Canadian context. According to Razack, this latest spatial development of national

mythology is based on the idea that the past two decades has meant the invasion of the settler-state nation and territory by non-white immigrants and refugees, attracted to Canadian generosity and openness (Razack, 2002a: 4). While Harris' painting works to naturalize both the first and second of these myths, Yoon's work suggests the white mobility that is constituted through such a myth of settlement, the erasure or segregation of Aboriginal people in racialized ghettoes or reserves, and the separation of people of colour to racialized space within urban developments.

A second reference to the role of souvenirs happens in relation to the constitution of the 'Self' itself. This naturalized dynamic of nation, landscape and 'identity', bringing into being the racialized and gendered body, also produces, as an effect, the appearance of a self, as discussed further below. However, if read through Fanon, the work could also be understood as revealing spatially that which must be produced and reflected in order to ensure the self-reproduction of the Canadian 'Self' through whiteness and masculinity. In this way, the stranger figures as a sort of souvenir of the constitution of white masculine Canadian Selfhood or subjectivity, one that has the freedom to move through space. The effects of this Othering are reflected in the use of the three 'Asian' languages for the captions, pointing to Bannerji and Fanon's understandings of the homogenizing powers of 'race', as well as that meaning which escapes figuration. The use of all three languages suggests that in this context, this body is not a 'Self' but a representative type, marked by its ambiguous identity of 'Asianness',

'Chineseness', 'Japaneseness' and/or 'Koreaness'.

The new relationship of belonging that comes through the work's power to disrupt and resignify the relationship between body and space, is enacted both within and outside the language and site of nationalism. Although Yoon points clearly to her own exclusion from a natural membership to the nation, the making of this image and the image itself take a place within the identity making history of Canadian nationalism. As Adrienne Lai (2000: 18) points out, both Yoon and her work can be understood as part of the nationalist canon of Canadian art, including the prominent display of her 'self' and her work at the National Gallery of Canada, the Vancouver Art Gallery and other major Canadian institutions. As Yoon enters this history and geography as an example of a critical intervention in Canadian art history, this work is not only a rejection or acceptance of the nation, but refigures the national as a contested site for meaning making. Through her exposure of its violence, the nation is both broken apart and put together to show its usefulness as a site of resistance. Through this process, space, nation, body, and even Self, are no longer fixed in their meanings, but are open to new relationships.

Embodying the Space Between

This understanding of resistance offers insight to a discussion of Bannerji's essay. If the spatial location of Yoon's figure enables a critique of the ways that space and body constitute each other through national discourse, then

perhaps this understanding has some relevance for opening up the immobility of the South Asian woman of Bannerji's letter. The figure of Bannerji's essay, like the figure of Yoon's text, experiences a complicated relationship with material space because she is a stranger within the nation. The South Asian woman in Bannerji's essay is caught in a space of home that does not participate in the normalized narrative of home, and also does not have the mobility to leave this space. In referring back to my discussion of Yoon, I suggest that part of the reason why this figure is held in place is located in the ways that material spaces and bodies are constituted through racialized and gendered meaning in the Canadian context.

If, as is argued in the first two chapters, a body's mobility is constituted in a process that also constitutes social space, and if, in the context of Bannerji's analysis, this circular process is enacted through national discourse, how can these ideas be used to challenge the immobility of the South Asian woman's body? How can this discussion of Yoon be used to open up this relationship of signification that produces this immobility?

What I want to take from my reading of Yoon's work in relation to Butler and Fanon, is the potential of considering what must come together to secure the materialization of space through national discourse, that also produces Canadian and hyphenated-Canadian bodies simultaneously. The result is the possibility, through exposing the exclusions that are necessary to the logic of such spatial relationship, of new meanings and materializations. What I show here is the

importance of examining the impossibility of this South Asian woman moving into a space of material homelessness, but also, as discussed in the last chapter, of being located in a space of normalized or qualified home. I argue that such an impossibility reveals the role that the binary relationship between spaces and bodies of material home and homelessness play in the constitution of Canadianness through racialized and gendered meanings. *Souvenirs of the Self* points to the possibility to reveal ruptures in this relationship through a focus on the constitution of the spatial location and immobility of the South Asian woman in question.

The binary relationship of material home and homelessness that often must be negotiated by women leaving abusive situations is maintained at a high cost. Erin Manning argues that "[t]he dichotomy of the homed and the homeless is one that not only sustains the coherence of the nation-state, but also one that perpetuates the violence against the other in the name of the discourse of the home" (2003: 56). Such an understanding, Manning (2003) argues, relies on the binary relationship of material home and homelessness that suggests that security is derived from a bounded structure from which strangers are excluded. The effect of such a binary understanding, is not only the materialization of the home space, but also the constitution of spaces of homelessness in particular shapes, forms, and locations.

Such an understanding complicates the relationship between domestic violence and movement, obscuring the range of inadequate housing conditions

that challenge the idea that security is not derived through a bounded structure, including issues of affordability, abuse, inadequate heating, inadequate space (Begin, 1999; Novacs, 1996). As a result, the spaces that materialize as those of homelessness continue to be located in what are often 'degenerate' parts of cities, and, more specifically, on-the-streets, to the exclusion of the material spaces of women's experiences of inadequate housing (Novac, 1996). Domestic violence, in particular, challenges the idea that the space of material home is a space of security, and often requires a movement of women out of this space into material spaces of short- or long-term homelessness, that, though associated with insecurity, offers an exit from the violence (Neal, 2004; Novac, 1996).

This binary spatial relationship plays into national discourse in interesting ways. Samira Kawash (1998) suggests that what is secured by this dichotomy is the constitution of a unified and normalized public and the materialization of the homeless body. Kawash argues that such a body, only possible through a binary understanding of material home and homelessness, comes into being as the constitutive outside of the public, in a process similar to that producing Fanon's black body (1998). Like Fanon's black man, this homeless body is differentiated from an individual homeless person as a homogenized representative type (Kawash, 1998: 322). This is a figure that exists in a heightened state of embodiment, every action and movement associated with bodily needs of eating, sleeping, producing waste, and keeping warm (Kawash, 1998). This materialization is reflected by the multiple strategies used to eradicate the

'problem' of homelessness by denying space to these bodies (Kawash, 1998). The materiality of this body, like that of Yoon's figure, has the potential of the stranger to reveal the violent exclusions that necessarily bring into being the citizen body (Kawash, 1998).

What Kawash does not consider, and what I want to emphasize here, is the way that these bodies and spaces that enable a unified understanding of 'citizenry' come into being through a compelling of gendered and racialized identities in national discourse. Joanne Passaro (1996), Jeff Sommers (1998), and Sherene Razack (2002c) suggest different ways that the spaces and bodies of homelessness take on a regulatory role in the materialization of citizens' bodies as properly sexualized and racialized. For both Passaro and Sommers, the space of homelessness can be understood as a material site of gendered resistance. It is because of this that the movement away from domestic violence is complicated. As spaces of homelessness materialize as public space and especially as inner city streets, it is a space of masculinity and therefore dangerous to women who are seen as out of place (Passaro, 1996). Passaro (1996) notes that if women leave their home but still appear properly feminized, they will easily be "helped" and re-homed. Homeless women, especially temporarily homeless women, remain 'women' and do not threaten but preserve gendered norms in their supposed vulnerability, dependency and need which keeps them from belonging to these spaces (Passaro, 1996). Because of this lack of belonging, they both deserve and need help to be re-homed.

In contrast, the bodies that truly belong to the spaces of homelessness are marked by their improper materialization of gender. To accommodate these bodies to these spaces, they appear as masculinized women, excessively masculine men, almost asexual bodies (dehumanized in this asexuality) (Passaro, 1996), or hyper-sexualized, and so not domesticated, women (Razack, 2002c). These are all figures who cannot properly belong to the nation through economic and social participation, both because and further suggesting that they cannot properly belong to a home. These are the bodies that materialize as an effect of the citizen body, and so must be eradicated or stigmatized.

Sommers shows how such a dynamic is at play in the constitution of Vancouver's Downtown Eastside as an abject space, a space of degeneracy at the border of respectability (Sommers, 1998). The body belonging to this space is generally masculinized, except for the increasingly present or visible bodies of sex trade workers, replacing the innocuous hobo of earlier homelessness who belonged to rural as well as urban space (Scmmers, 1998). Sommers notes the importance of this figure during the post-war period when economic citizenship was reshaped through ideals of masculinity defined as exclusively heterosexual (Sommers, 1998). It was the excessive masculinity and the inability to properly be 'homed' that led the skid row man to the Downtown Eastside, a path, it was warned, that could be open to anyone who abandoned a properly gendered and sexualized life (Sommers, 1998). As Sommers writes, "Precisely because it provided a vehicle to police the boundaries of normal masculine conduct, the

derelict was an important element in the construction of masculine domesticity" (1998: 289). In contrast, proper citizens and members of the nation, marked through proper gender and sexuality, materialize in other, respectable, parts of the city.

Part of this regulatory power of the spaces and bodies of homelessness works through the possibility of encounter through movement. Here, the possibility to move into a space of degeneracy not only secures properly gendered and sexualized bodies, but also whiteness and full membership to the nation. In Sherene Razack's (2002c) discussion of the brutal murder of Pamela George, an Aboriginal woman who was assaulted and killed while working as a sex trade worker in Regina, it is argued that the movement of white middle-class men into inner-city space is a process by which difference is encountered and white subjectivity is enabled. Describing the space into which this tourism happens, Razack writes, "The inner city [in Canada] is racialized space, the zone in which all that is not respectable is contained. Canada's colonial geographies exhibit [a pattern] of violent expulsions and spatial containment of Aboriginal peoples to marginalized areas of the city, processes consolidated over three hundred years of colonization" (Razack, 2002c: 129). The mobility of the white men's bodies and the immobility of the Aboriginal women who are expected to serve them solidify understandings of who properly belongs to the nation through their belonging to respectable and not degenerate space (Razack, 2002c).

How do these ideas relate to the immobility of the South Asian woman of

Bannerji's work? First they highlight the process through which the normalized space of home, in relation to which the racialized space of home of the South Asian woman, come into being in her writing. It is through this relationship that the bodies that belong to this space are marked through their proper racialization and gendering in national discourse. Those who are differently marked may belong to a material space of home that is qualified, as in the case of Bannerji's woman through 'ethnicity' and tradition, or to a space of homelessness. Secondly, this discussion suggests why there is an added difficulty in writing about the movement of women of colour through a space of homelessness. In contrast to the Aboriginal woman of Razack's (2002c) analysis, whose racialization and gendering mark her as belonging outside spaces of domesticity, the South Asian woman of Bannerji's work is racialized and gendered into a space of racialized home. Her mobility out of this space is troubled by the excessive domesticity that brings her into being, as well as the ways that spaces of homelessness are constituted. Despite not belonging to a properly de-racialized material space of home, this body cannot easily belong to a space of material homelessness.

This discussion also suggests how both home/homelessness relationships, material and national, work together to materialize the South Asian woman's immobility. The strangers of the nation are produced both through their exclusion and inclusion in belonging to the nation, being bound to it as though to home, but also in their exclusion, but necessary inclusion, from its spaces of material home. Both discourses come together, and are enabled by each other, to sustain the

mobility of proper Canadian subjects, those that are properly (de)racialized and gendered. The South Asian woman, because of her national homelessness, comes into being through 'race' and gender, and so remains in a state of heightened embodiment and immobility. Because of her exclusion from the nation, she cannot properly be materially housed, but, in the ways that she is particularly racialized, is bound to a space of home that is marked through the language of 'tradition' and culture. This figure who experiences physical violence within this space and who must be able to leave home, is caught in a series of 'in betweens' that supposedly do not exist -- she is between belonging to the nation, excluded, but necessarily so, and she is bound to a space of material home that does not fit into the nation's narrative of home, is insecure, so again is not home-like, but cannot move into the spaces of material homelessness. In addition, she is falsely represented in all these spaces.

What else is guarded through this immobility? Manning writes,

> If we adhere to the teachings of modern philosophy, we are forced to locate the home as the governing metaphor of the nation, based on the assumption that state sovereignty is inviolable as the spatiotemporal model of political governance. This discourse emphasizes the dichotomy of the homed and the homeless, classifying the homed as citizens in the citizen/nation/state triad (2003: 32).

Such a notion of security grounds not only the role of the state over its territory, and the importance of material home, but also the integrity of the subject who is bound to him- or herself. Challenging one element of this triad, puts the other two into flux. If we return to Bannerji's analysis, it is possible to read this immobility in relation to the Canadian spaces, identity, and citizens it secures.

For if new materializations are opened up for the South Asian woman of Bannerji's essay, it could only come through a challenging of those figures who come into being as freely mobile and as subjects in Canadian discourse. It is suggested below how such a challenge, focused on the impossibility of the homed and homelessness South Asian woman, can open up new materializations.

Resisting Borders

In this section, I return to my earlier discussion of resistance and meaning to further develop how it is through a critique of racialized embodiment that new material possibilities are revealed. Despite Manning's suggestion in the quote used at the start of the chapter that resistance must be brought on by the stranger him or herself, suggesting a sort of agency involved, both Frantz Fanon and Luce Irigaray's work suggest that resistance operates continuously and uncontrollably. In both *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) as well as in various essays in *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1985), the two authors suggest that any representation of the Other, understood by both as an empty signifier reflecting back the white or masculine Self, is always false. It is in this signifying process that the feminine, for Irigaray, or blackness, for Fanon, is always excluded and included in discourse; although the representation, which must necessarily figure and in figuring supposedly marks its place, blackness or the feminine can never be figured in white or masculine discourse. As noted earlier, Irigaray suggests there are two understandings of the feminine at play: the excessive and the specular

(Butler, 1993b; Irigaray, 1985). While the specular feminine is represented in discourse as the feminine, the excessive resists representation. In Fanon's work, this blackness that escapes figuration is something that intrigues and terrifies the white subject (Fanon, 1967; Mohanram, 1999). Fanon writes:

> The white man wants the world; he wants it for himself alone. He finds himself predestined master of this world...But there exists other values that fit only my forms. Like a magician, I robbed the white man of 'a certain world', forever after lost to him and his. When that happened, the white man must have been rocked backward by a force that he could not identify, so little used as he is to such reactions. Somewhere beyond the objective world of farms and banana trees and rubbers trees, I had subtly brought the real world into being. The essence of the world was my fortune...The white man had the anguished feeling that I was escaping from him and that I was taking something with me
> (Fanon, 1967: 128).

What I want to take from both Fanon and Irigaray is the continual way in which this double existence of figured and escaped operates disruptively. The result of this false representation and excessive nature of the feminine is, for Irigaray, what enables its disruption of the systematicity of any discourse through the improper functioning of signifiers, *catachresis* (Irigaray, 1985; Butler, 1993b). This consideration, taken along with Butler's understanding of the subject, clearly suggests why no agency or subjectivity is necessary for a resistance that is understood as the continual opening of meaning. For Irigaray and Fanon, these continual disruptions are revealed by pointing to that which must necessarily be excluded (and so included) for a system to claim its systematicity.

This understanding of resistance, then, does not suggest that one is the author of change or that it is possible to control that change. As Butler's suggests, even the agency bound in the writing of this thesis is not evidence that 'I' am the

agent who authors these ideas, but, rather, that their presentation is a further constitution of me as a thinking and acting agent (Butler, 1992). This does not suggest that there should be a rejection of the idea of 'I' (nor should this mean that I do not deserve to graduate as the author of this thesis), but that it should be recognized that this thesis is a further constitution of the appearance of my subjecthood.

In opening up categories of meaning to resignification, Butler suggests that they are opened up for signification in any way (1992: 16). Therefore, this is important to consider when the body and spatial location of the stranger themselves are read as pointing to these ruptures: the stranger is both used because of his or her stranger-hood but is also reconstituted through that reference. Because this is a deeply spatial process for Fanon, the consideration of the space/body relationship offers a crucial entry point to this relationship. As I show in my discussion of Butler and Grosz, the materialization of the body is also the production of social space, resulting in a circular productive dynamic that can also be opened up for new materializations of both. In the way that 'race' especially is naturalized through ideas of social space, this becomes a fruitful way to reconsider meanings.

Interestingly, both Yoon and Bannerji differently point to the importance of the racialized and gendered body itself in resistance. Although Bannerji's letter does note the effects of racializing and gendering on embodiment, she does not suggest how this body itself can be opened to new meaning making. In contrast,

Yoon's work suggests that the materialization of the body itself, a result of this continual process of identification through exclusions, offers within its constitution the possibilities to challenges its meaning. In her discussion of other works by the same artist, Manning comments: "Yoon provides an embodied, critical response to nationalist mandates such as that of the Group of Seven, taking into account issues of family and gender while bringing to the fore a historically grounded examination of 'race' in the context of the construction of the nation" (2003: 25). Again, this use and critique of the body is not its rejection, but a rejection of its meanings as fixed. What frees the body and the spaces in and through which it is constituted, is to continually use them as open signifiers. As Butler argues: "[t]o recast the referent as the signified, and to authorize or safeguard the category of woman as a site of possible resignifications is to expand the possibilities of what it means to be a woman and *in this sense* to condition and enable an enhanced sense of agency" (Butler, 1992: 16, emphasis added).

It is also through a critique of what constitutes the materiality of the body that subjectivity can be better interrogated. In Yoon's work, not only does the body, her body, figure centrally in the image, but so does her agency in the production of the image[10]. As Butler (1992: 9) might suggest, this Self is a result of its figuration as 'the Self', reconstituted by these references and positions. In taking this photograph (but if Yoon is the subject of this souvenir photograph, is

[10] See Kang (1998) for a detailed discussion of "The Autobiographical Stagings of Jin-me Yoon."

she also the one who took the photograph?), Yoon secures, in referring to it as her work, the agency that allows her to take the photograph at all. Further, the photograph, as souvenir, reproduces her agency in its reference to this body as her own, and this photograph as her own. Again, such a critique can be understood not as a rejection of the Self, but to point to its constitution through reference. In opening up the Self and its agency to this kind of critique, it is possible to leave the circle of promoting racialized and gendered exclusions that result from arguments for agency or subjectivity.

Conclusion

This chapter builds on earlier discussions of the importance of exploring the relationship between embodiment and spatiality, particularly in the context of reconceptualizing resistance away from ideas of agency. In this chapter, it is argued that the immobility of the South Asian woman, left unresolved in Bannerji's analysis, can be challenged and opened up through an examination of the spatial implications of her racialized and gendered constitution through national discourse. I return to earlier discussions on resistance to show how a focus on subjectivity and agency only further reproduces racialized and gendered oppression. Instead, the importance of work by Fanon and Butler on embodiment and spatiality is suggested for a critique of the constitution of subjectivity and agency. Such an understanding focuses on the role of racialized and gendered exclusions in constituting this agency and subjectivity, and how these exclusions

open up the possibility for resignification of meaning.

To better guide this analysis of Bannerji's South Asian women, I turned to Yoon's *Souvenirs of the Self* as an example of a work that operates through such a theoretical understanding. It is suggested that the power of Yoon's work is its ability to unfix meanings of body, subject, nation and space by pointing to the racialized and gendered exclusions that produce each. This discussion was used to guide an engagement with Bannerji's work, suggesting how we might further understand and challenge the immobility produced in her writing. It is then suggested that it is possible to open up the South Asian woman's immobility to new material forms by pointing to her constitution through the binaries of material home and homelessness, and national home and homelessness.

What I want to emphasize again, in conclusion, is that such a critique of the body, the subject, of 'race' and gender, does not mean their rejection. Instead, as Butler insists, to critique these ideas, is to argue to continue to use these terms and ideas in a way that does not fix their meanings. In doing so, the discursive meanings that produce the materiality of each are understood as continually reproduced. This is particularly important in understanding the relationship of bodies and spaces, and the question of racialized and gendered mobility. By considering the ways that the materiality of the body and space come into being, and by showing how they are not fixed in meaning, the immobility that marks the racialized body (and the body that is immobile) is open to new materializations. Of course, as Butler cautions, this does not suggest that one can or should control

the meanings that are produced and reproduced, but that they are free to both reaffirm and contest materializations. Such a process is perhaps most clear in both Yoon and Bannerji's use of the nation and the body. Both Bannerji's and Yoon's critiques remain within the context of national discourse, while contesting such discourse. In this way, the nation becomes not just a site of exclusion and inclusion, but a site produced because of that debate. Similarly, the racialized and gendered body is not rejected in these critiques, but used to open up questions of meaning.

The image of an 'Asian' woman at Lake Louise suggests that both space and bodies continually take on new meanings and are engaged in a continual process of meaning making. Yoon's work is an example of the possibilities that are opened up through the materialization of both body and space, and through the ways in which one is constituted through the other. It is also a suggestion that attention be given to the ways in which space materializes, and what the effects of this materialization are on the constitution of the body. By opening up these possibilities and reframing them, meanings and associations are denaturalized. This has important implications for writing about violence against South Asian women in Canada. This photograph suggests that it is in part by uncovering and critiquing the ways in which body and space work together that their power is already destabilized.

Conclusion

This thesis draws on the work of Judith Butler and Frantz Fanon in order to engage in a critique of Canadian anti-racist feminist works. In this thesis, I have argued that racialization is grounded through naturalized understandings of body and space, and, further, that this grounding happens textually. The central focus of this research is to uncover and problematize how this spatial grounding of 'race' happens indirectly within some of this Canadian literature, and how this might be challenged. The importance of this inquiry stems from an understanding that processes of subjectivity and embodiment, concepts central to this literature, require racialized and gendered exclusions.

Such an understanding points to the importance of exploring how these exclusions might operate in texts that seek to resist this oppression. To better grasp some of the slippery ways that racialization is grounded in spatial relations, Butler's understandings of subjectivity and embodiment were discussed in relation to Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967). Reading both authors together provides a much needed racial and spatial component to Butler's work, and makes possible a gendered analysis of Fanon's. What allows these two authors to be read together is their shared concern and understanding of the way that the materiality of the body happens in discourse.

To develop a theoretical framework to guide an unmapping of three different Canadian works, Chapter One drew on the ideas of Fanon and Butler to critique recent work by Sherene Razack. I argued there that Razack's challenging

of racialized and gendered exclusions is complicated by the ontological existence that she gives to both spaces and bodies. A result of this understanding is that Razack's work reproduces the racialized and gendered exclusions that she attempts to challenge. Through this critique of Razack through Butler and Fanon, three spatial implications of racialized embodiment were identified that shaped the direction of the rest of the work: first, that the very materialization of body, through its racialization and gendering, happens in space and in relation to space; secondly, that this process produces social space as an effect; and that racialized and gendered embodiment is marked by immobility or a lessened ability to move through social space. It is argued that placing a focus on these processes, and examining how the materiality of body and space is constituted through a series of racialized and gendered exclusions allows for the destabilization of 'race'.

This argument was further developed in the second chapter through a critique of Himani Bannerji's essay on violence against South Asian women in Canada. This essay highlights the importance of considering these questions of racialized and gendered mobility through a focus on writing about domestic violence, where resistance is often understood through ideas about women's ability to leave the space of home. The main argument made in Chapter Two is that in naturalizing relationships between ideas of body, space and subjectivity, Bannerji's essay reproduces racialized and gendered exclusions that bind South Asian women in Canada to a space of home. I argued that this problematic effect is a result of the tension between Bannerji's simultaneous critique and support of

subjectivity. As suggested by the discussion in Chapter One, such a tension results in a complicated reproduction of racialized meaning.

In the third chapter this problematic tension was addressed through a discussion of resistance. To gain insight on how to contest the immobility of Bannerji's South Asian woman, I turned to the work of artist Jin-me Yoon and the photographic work *Souvenirs of the Self*. In reading this work through Fanon and Butler, I argued that this image works to destabilize naturalized relationships between bodies and spaces by pointing to the internally ruptured logic of Canadian nationalism. Yoon uses a figure, her own body, caught between exclusion and inclusion in national discourse to show how bodies, spaces, and nation materialize through racialized and gendered exclusions.

This analysis was used to suggest that the immobility of the South Asian woman of Bannerji's analysis might be similarly challenged. I examined what in Bannerji's understanding of the materialization of South Asian women in Canadian discourse can be opened up to further challenge its spatial implications. This consideration points to the importance of considering both the national and material home/homelessness binaries at work. In order to challenge the immobility that Bannerji's essay reproduces, the role of binary relationships in securing body, space of home, and national discourse was explored.

Implications of Research

There are a number of important implications of the main arguments of

my thesis. The idea that guides this work, that the body and space only materialize through racialized and gendered meaning supports Butler's (1999) idea that we must reconceptualize violence. It is not important to consider only the violence that is played out on the physical body, but also those violent discursive exclusions that produce the body (Butler, 1992). This argument is of special importance for anti-racist feminist writing, a literature that works to uncover and challenge 'race' and gender based oppressions. This suggests the importance, then, for anti-racist feminist authors to seriously consider work like that of Butler's and Fanon's, that makes visible this hidden violence.

However, the main arguments of this thesis also suggest the benefits of exploring these violent exclusions through a spatial analysis. While Fanon's work clearly acknowledges and allows for such a spatial analysis, this becomes slightly more difficult in relation to Butler's work. Although Razack sets up a framework to conduct such an analysis, her work does not critique the racialized and gendered nature of subjectivity and an absolute understanding of body and space. In this way, it is a challenge to work together ideas of body and space, in such a way as to clearly address workings of 'race' and gender. However, such a difficulty, and the findings it reveals, point to the importance of this work.

As Razack suggests in the introduction to *Race, Space and the Law* (2002), one of the benefits of such a spatial analysis are its use in conceptualizing the ways that 'race' and gender might converge and work separately. Although, as Butler cautions, it is not always appropriate to read racialization and gendering

together, it is often very informative (1993c). Using the work of Butler and Fanon together, and especially through a discussion of Canadian anti-racist feminist texts made it possible to examine these complicated workings together.

In light of these two considerations, it is important, and perhaps disconcerting, to note what seems to be a reluctance to work with these ideas in texts like Bannerji's and Razack's, or even to note that when Butler's work is used in some of this literature, it is often used improperly. In such cases, ideas of performativity are used, for example, to speak of the ways that 'race' or gender is performed by a subject (see Mahtani, 2001, for example). Both this lack of use and misuses are more troubling when it is recognized that much of the writing and research about homelessness and violence against women is often under-theorized or largely empirical. In the case of homelessness, the literature on the subject is dominated by medical research.

This undertheorization underlines the need for multiple unmappings of academic literature to consider how it is implicated in the materialization of spaces and bodies. This unmapping is particularly important in the context of literature written in the interest of challenging oppressive meanings of 'race' and gender. As in the case of Bannerji and Razack's writing, such an unmapping might reveal the possibility that an approach taken actually does not support or even further undermines the purpose of the writing. If it can be shown that this literature does indeed further ground racialized and gendered meanings, then surely it is important to consider how to make visible this problem, or to examine

why it occurs. Further, it is possible that it is in engaging in critique, these hidden processes are made visible and new materializations are opened up. Such an intervention supports not only the growth of academic writing but also of political resistance. In building through a critique of existing work, ideas are strengthened, making way for new discourse and matter. In adopting such an approach, it is critical to acknowledge the ways that one's own text is also engaged in a process of meaning making and materializing. *Souvenirs of the Self* (2001) points to what is enabled when signifiers, including one's own text, are understood as not fixed, but open to new meanings.

An understanding of academic writing as engaged in processes of materialization suggests that writing about 'race' and gender, and critiquing how such writing happens, is a 'materially' relevant task. Arguments that theory is far removed from 'reality' point to the importance to consider what makes something 'real' and how that reality is constituted. The importance of such an inquiry is illustrated by the case of writing about violence against South Asian women where understandings of material violence should not obscure the violent constitutions of the bodies and spaces in question.

The approach taken in this thesis also points to the importance of opening up Political Science to other disciplines, approaches, and media, especially around questions of 'race' and space where interesting and useful work is done in other disciplines. In engaging with these works, new approaches and understandings are often made visible. Much of the relevant literature for this project came from

a variety of disciplines, including geography, sociology, women's studies, and law. This interdisciplinary approach offered access to different areas of literature as well as different approaches and understandings. Further, it is also useful to consider media other than academic writing, such as artistic works or fiction. The possibilities opened up by such an effort are made clear by the capacity of Jin-me Yoon's photographic work to cleanly articulate very complicated relationships of body and space that are often obscured in academic writing. Widening this scope of research materials also broadens a focus of how meanings are made in a variety of contexts and what each context might differently offer for a process of resignification.

Future Research

There are a number of possible research ideas that develop in relation to questions of 'race', space and embodiment. Some of these possibilities include a more in depth discussion of some areas that are touched on in the body of this thesis. For example, it would be useful to undertake this 'unmapping' in relation to a larger array of Canadian anti-racist feminist work to examine how these ideas are being negotiated. What sorts of understandings of embodiment are dominant in this literature? Has there been a reluctance to engage with the work of Judith Butler or Frantz Fanon? What theoretical approaches are used to understand 'race', gender and space? It would also be interesting to examine how those authors who do engage with work by Butler conceptualize 'race'. Is racialization understood

through ideas of performativity or is another theory put forth? This would offer one way to examine how intersections of 'race' and gender are being studied, and whether those who use the work of Butler (1999) argue that the heterosexual matrix she posits is also racialized.

Similarly, it would be useful to read and encourage more work that includes theorizations of concepts of space that are compatible with Butler's arguments about the materialization of the body. Despite the increased interest in spatial theorizing noted by Razack (2002a), there is not a large amount of works that develop or use a theory of space that is properly compatible with Butler's understanding of the body[11]. Many feminist theorists who engage Butler's work often develop an understanding of space through the work of Henri Lefebvre (Gibson-Graham (1997) critiques this use). As noted in Chapter One, such an engagement, though useful, is problematic in the way that Lefebvre argues that there exists a sort of absolute space (Gibson-Graham, 1997). Thus, an understanding of space that compliments Butler's understanding of the materialization of sex and the body would be useful in ungrounding meanings of 'race' and gender. Additionally, as noted above, theorizing through space might offer an alternative way to better conceptualize the intersections of racialization and gender. A deeper engagement with some of the work that has been done in

[11] See Pratt (2004) for an example of such theorizing that offers some insights but also misrepresents Butler's work in important ways. Despite recognition that the work of Foucault and Butler challenge the agency f the subject, Pratt writes: "We come to understand our identity as girl/woman or boy/man because we repeatedly perform it" (2004: 17). This misunderstanding of Butler's critique of agency also shapes Pratt's use of Butler to theorize space.

this area, developing a more rigorous understanding of the materialization of space would be extremely relevant.

There are also a number of more 'applied' research areas that follow from the arguments developed here relating to relationships of space, body and 'race.' For example, in conducting research for this project, I became more interested in the role of mapping in naturalizing these relationships. As briefly explored in the first chapter, ideas of mapping are deeply related to the materialization of space and the body. It would be interesting to consider how mapping is involved with a number of texts, even including such things as public transit systems themselves.

In another direction, questions related to the spatial grounding of racialization are also relevant for an understanding of the painful politics of public space, 'race,' and gender that, as I note in the beginning of the introduction, have been developing in media coverage on the ongoing murders of women in Edmonton. This is a situation that eerily brings to mind the murder of Pamela George in Regina, discussed by Sherene Razack (2002c). In Edmonton, the bodies of at least twelve women working in the sex trade, many of whom are Aboriginal, have been found along the rural boundaries of the city. The media discussion following the murders displays an interesting negotiation of the belonging of certain bodies to particular spaces.

The racialized spatiality of these murders points to the importance of denaturalizing relationships between spaces and bodies. The reporting of the incidents have often focused on the belonging of women, generally identified

primarily as "prostitutes", "hookers", or sometimes "sex trade workers," to the inner-city neighbourhoods that are clearly and consistently identified (Horton, 2005). In this reporting, the neighbourhoods of concern are identified as clearly as the women themselves. Additionally, a focus on the women's "high risk lifestyles" that lead them to the streets (Farrell and Barrett, 2005) suggests that properly feminized and racialized women do not belong there. It in in belonging to that space, because of their deviance from gender norms, that they are marked as expendable. Further research on this subject might suggest how both bodies and spaces are further constituted through each other in this particular context.

Last Thoughts

The arguments made in this thesis as well as their implications point to the critical need to reconceptualize violence and to reconsider the ways that racialization is grounded through understandings of space and bodies. Such a reconceptualization is especially important to consider in relation to work written in the interest of challenging racialized and gendered meanings, as is the case within the Canadian anti-racist feminist literature.

What has left an impression on me through this project is the possibility of using writing to address these concerns and make political change. Reading Razack's analysis of the trial for Pamela George's murder, for example, is both an upsetting and encouraging experience; in considering the spatial workings of 'race' at both the murder and the trial itself, Razack points to the many ways that

oppressive relationships are made invisible, but, in making them visible, uncovers the possibility for them to be destabilized and reformulated. Despite concerns about the theoretical approach taken, this work is clearly important and resistant. It is through this writing, or through Yoon's incredibly expressive photograph, that what is silenced becomes so audible, and the importance of continuing such work is made painfully clear. It is in encountering work by Luce Irigaray, Fanon, Butler, Razack and Yoon, that we might be reminded of the possibilities for beauty in thinking critically, and also how the texts that result from such thinking are an example of political resistance.

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